

ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SCIENCE
ENGINEERING AND TECHNOLOGY

**FEMALE SERVICE WORKERS' EXPERIENCE OF URBAN SPACE AND ITS
IMPLICATIONS FOR URBAN DESIGN**

M.Sc. THESIS

Ceyda SUNGUR

Department of Urban Design

Urban Design Graduate Programme

JANUARY 2014

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Thesis Advisor: Prof. Dr. Ayşe Sema KUBAT

Co-Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Elvan GÜLÖKSÜZ

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İSTANBUL TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ ★ FEN BİLİMLERİ ENSTİTÜSÜ

**KENTSEL TASARIMA ETKİLERİ BAĞLAMINDA KADIN HİZMET
İŞÇİLERİNİN KENTSEL MEKAN DENEYİMLERİ**

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

**Ceyda SUNGUR
(519101023)**

Kentsel Tasarım Anabilim Dalı

Kentsel Tasarım Programı

Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Dr. Ayşe Sema KUBAT

Eş Danışman: Doç. Dr. Elvan GÜLÖKSÜZ

OCAK 2014

Ceyda SUNGUR, a **M.Sc.** student of ITU, **Graduate School of Science Engineering and Technology 519101023**, successfully defended the thesis entitled **“FEMALE SERVICE WORKERS’ EXPERIENCE OF URBAN SPACE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR URBAN DESIGN”**, which he prepared after fulfilling the requirements specified in the associated legislations, before the jury whose signatures are below.

Thesis Advisor : **Prof. Dr. Ayşe Sema KUBAT**
İstanbul Technical University

Co-advisor : **Assoc. Prof. Elvan GÜLÖKSÜZ**
İstanbul Technical University

Jury Members : **Assoc. Prof. Kerem KORAMAZ**
İstanbul Technical University

Assoc. Prof. Besime ŞEN
Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University

Assoc. Prof. Asuman TÜRKÜN
Yıldız Technical University

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*To Berkin Elvan,
for that he wakes up in a better world*

FOREWORD

This thesis was written under the influence and pressure of a potential dismissal from my job as a research asisstant at the university. As a precarious worker in the academia, this study encouraged me to think about my own experiences and socio-spatial practices that are shaped by flexible relations of everyday life in Istanbul. I have to admit that, witnessing the interviewees' life struggle and spending efforts to understand their socio-spatial practices that are shaped by this very struggle are the most precious experiences the academy has offered so far. Therefore, first and foremost, I would like to thank the interviewees who volunteered to take part in the research. This thesis would not worth writing or reading without their sincere involvement and experiences, which enabled drawing a general picture of everyday life in Istanbul.

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FEMALE SERVICE WORKERS' EXPERIENCE OF URBAN SPACE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR URBAN DESIGN

SUMMARY

Contemporary urban space is shaped by a bulk of social relations at very different scales. On the other hand, in the urban age, the lives of human beings are largely conditioned by this space. Compared to the broader processes and more influential classes and groups, which play major parts in shaping the city, individuals – particularly those who have less economic and political means– have relatively less transformative capacity. Thus, they almost find themselves “invisible” and as passive receivers of an urban system to which they have to adapt in order to survive.

Influential social theorists like Weber, Simmel, Lefebvre, Sennett and others have theorized the features of the capitalist city, which dissolve the community, transform the public space and the public person, prioritize exchange value over use value, and exacerbate socio-spatial injustices; albeit at the expense of the quality of human life as well as other life forms.

This study focuses on everyday life and spatial practices of female service workers in the case of İstanbul. The study aims to analyze the implications of a set of spatial forms, from the macro form (i.e. place of work, place of residence, forms of transport and the like) to urban design elements at the community and street level on the daily life experiences of the selected group through interviews visual narrations. It seeks to find out the elements of contemporary urban space which help or impede individuals in their strive to make a living, and those which improve or degrade their life quality.

The results of this analysis will be used to develop questions and problematiques for critical urban design practices.

KENTSEL TASARIMA ETKİLERİ BAĞLAMINDA KADIN HİZMET İŞÇİLERİNİN KENTSEL MEKAN DENEYİMLERİ

ÖZET

Birbirinden farklı ölçeklerde kurulan sosyal ilişkiler ile biçimlenen kentsel mekan, aynı ölçüde insanoğlunun hayatını da şekillendirmektedir. Kenti biçimlendiren kapsamlı süreçlere ve bu süreçlerde daha fazla yer alabilen toplumsal sınıf ve gruplara kıyasla, daha az ekonomik ve politik araçlara sahip bireylerin kenti biçimlendirici ve dönüştürücü etkileri de azdır. Bu bakımdan görece etkinliği az olan bireyler “görünmezleşmekte”, kendilerini kentsel sistem içerisinde var olabilmek için adapte olmak zorunda bulan bir “pasif alıcı” olarak görmektedirler.

Weber, Simmel, Lefebvre, Sennet gibi teorisyenler, kapitalist kentin kamusal mekanı ve kamusal insanı değiştiren, değişim değerini kullanım değerinin önüne çıkaran, sosyo-mekansal adaletsizlikleri arttıran özelliklerini kavramsallaştırmışlardır. Öte yandan 1970’lerden bu yana “gündelik hayat” ve sosyo-mekansal pratiklerin, mekan üretimindeki rolü üzerinde yapılan tartışmalar da kapitalist üretim araç ve ilişkilerinin, mekanın evrimindeki etkisinin kavranmasını sağlamaktadır.

Bu teorik yaklaşımlar ışığında, üretim ilişkilerinin esnek üretim biçimleri ile şekillenmesi, küresel kapitalizm ve artan zaman mekan sıkışmasıyla, gündelik pratiklerinin ve doğal olarak kamusal mekanın etkilendiği görülmektedir. Esnek üretime dayalı sermaye birikimi ve endüstrisizleşme süreci ile birlikte artan hizmet sektörü çalışanı, esnek çalışma koşullarını ve güvencesiz yaşamı da beraberinde getirmekte, buna paralel mekan oluşumunu da yine aynı esnek ilişkiler zemininde biçimlenmektedir. Bunun yanı sıra son 30 yıl içerisinde giderek yoksullaşan ve eğitim hizmetlerinden yoksun bırakılan ailelerde, özellikle kadınlar, düşük ücretler ve güvencesiz koşullar altında çalışmaya mecbur bırakılmaktadır (Bondi and Christie 2000). Kamusal ve özel alanların biçimlenmesinin, kadınların gündelik hayatlarında erkeklerinkinden daha belirleyici bir etkisi olacağını (Garcia-Ramon, Ortiz, Prats 2004) ve kadının hem “ev” hem de “iş yerinde” görünmezleştiğini kabul ederek yapılan bu çalışma, İstanbul özelinde değişen mekanı, kadın temizlik işçilerinin gündelik hayat deneyimlerini araştırarak kavramayı ve bunun kentsel tasarım disiplinlerine katkısını sorgulamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Çalışmada bir dizi mekansal formun etkilerini incelemek üzere seçilen grubun, kentsel ölçekteki mekandan (çalışma alanı, yaşam alanı, ulaşım modları ve biçimleri, vb.), sokak ölçeğinde kentsel tasarım elemanlarına kadar gündelik hayat pratikleri ve deneyimleri görsel anlatı yöntemi kullanılarak analiz edilmiştir. Bu doğrultuda çalışma, çağdaş kentsel mekanın geçim mücadelesi veren bireylerin hayatlarını kolaylaştıran veya zorlaştıran, hayat kalitelerini arttıran ya da azaltan unsurlarını ortaya çıkarmayı hedeflemektedir. Analizlerin sonuçları kentsel tasarım disiplinleri ve yaklaşımlarına yönelik değişen kent mekanını irdeleyen sorular sormak amacıyla kullanılacaktır.

Henri Lefebvre, “Kentsel Devrim” adlı kitabında “kent olgusunun” kavranması için kentte yaşamının; genel, karma ve özel olmak üzere üç temel düzeyde incelenmesini gerekli görür. Genel düzey, devletin ve iktidarın iradesinin ve temsiliyetinin olduğu soyut ama temel ilişkiler düzeyidir. Karma düzey ise işlevler, biçimler ve yapıları barındıran şehir düzeyidir. Tüm bunlara kıyasla “ihmal edilebilir” olan Özel düzey ise, Genel’in soyut temsiliyetinin tersine, gerçek olan ve yaşam deneyimi barındıran düzeydir. Yani Özel düzey aslında kent yaşamındaki gündelik pratikler ile deneyimlenen ve biçimlendirilen ilişkiler bütünüdür. Dolayısı ile kent olgusu hem temsiller düzeyinde, politik-ekonomik süreçleri ve bağlamı kavramayı gerektiren “yukarıdan” bir yaklaşımı hem de somut gerçekliği veren, gündelik hayatın içinden kavramayı gerektiren “aşağıdan” bir yaklaşımı içermektedir. Bu çerçevede çalışma şehir planlama ve tasarım disiplinlerine çift yönlü bir pozisyon almayı önermektedir.

Lefebvre’ye göre gündelik hayatın evrimi tarihsel olarak üçe ayrılmaktadır. İlk dönemi ikinci dünya savaşına kadar olan evre ile tarif eder. Bu evrede, çoktan kapitalist kent varlık gösteriyor olmasına karşın, kentte gündelik hayat halen doğal zaman ve din ile biçimlenmektedir. İkinci Dünya Savaşı ertesi olarak tanımlanan ikinci dönemde ise, özellikle savaş sonrası tahrip olan kentlerde hızlı kentleşme ve yığın üretim ile şekillenen saat zamanı, gündelik hayatın belirleyici unsuru haline gelir. Son dönem ise devletin kontrol mekanizmalarının ve çok uluslu şirketlerle şekillenen ekonominin; medya, reklam ve tüketim araçları ile gündelik hayatımıza sızarak toplumu ele geçirdiği üçüncü evredir. Bugünkü esnek üretim biçimlerinin ve beraberinde getirdiği güvencesiz çalışma koşullarını ve mekanını araştırmak ise Lefebvre’den bu yana gündelik hayat ve mekan üretimi tartışmalarına katkı sunacaktır.

Kentsel Tasarım süreçlerinde, gerçekliği bir bağlam içerisinde (“aşağıdan” ve yukarıdan”), kentsel mekanın öznel ve nesnel gerçekliklerini kavramaya çalışmak disiplinler arası bir araştırma yöntemi kurgusunu gerektirmektedir. Dolayısı ile araştırma yöntemi, yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine mülakat, katılımcının bireysel gözlemlerini ortaya çıkaran görsel anlatı teknikleri(katılımcı odaklı fotoğraf, haritalama, zihinsel haritalama) ve gözlem olmak üzere niteliksel araçları içermektedir. Bu doğrultuda çeşitli kurum ve kuruluşlarda kadrolu ya da taşeron olarak çalışan 8 kadın temizlik işçisi ile Ağustos - Kasım 2013 döneminde derinlemesine mülakatlar yapılmıştır.

Derinlemesine mülakatlar, mülakat katılımcılarının hayat öykülerini, ev, iş yerleri ve arada (in- between) mekanlardaki gündelik pratiklerini kavramaya yönelik iki aşamalı olarak kurgulandı. Birinci aşamada katılımcıların hayat öyküleri üzerine konuşulduktan sonra katılımcılara 26 pozluk kullan- at fotoğraf makinalarından verilerek 2 hafta boyunca kendi gündelik deneyimlerini fotoğraflamaları beklendi. İkinci aşama ise çekilen fotoğraflar vasıtasıyla bugünkü deneyimleri üzerinde duruldu. Bu yöntem ile hem öznel hem de nesnel veriler gündelik hayatın gerçekliğini yansıtacak şekilde derlenebildi.

Temel olarak 8 kadın temizlik işçisinin hayatına bakmak, toplumun yapılı çevreden bağımsız olarak gelişmekte olduğunu ortaya çıkarmış, sosyal ilişkiler bütünündeki değişikliklerin bir önceki kapitalist dönemin ilişkileri bağlamında şekillendiğini kavramama olanak vermiştir. Güvencesizlik, değişen ve belirginleşen eşitsizlik algısı ve pratikleri, iş yerinde artan sınıf karşılaşmalarına karşın artan görünmezleşme, niteliksizleşirken profesyonelleşme, değişen ev içi ve dışı toplumsal roller, değişen direniş ve adaptasyon mekanları ve tüm bu değişen olgulara karşın halen yerin

kendine has eşsiz bileşenlerini koruması, mülakatlar sonucunda belirgin olarak öne çıkmıştır. Bu veriler ışığında küresel kapitalist ilişkiler ve örgütlenme biçimleri ile değişen mekanın nasıl kavrandığı ve nasıl tahayyül edileceği, şehirciler ve tasarım disiplinlerinde yeni sorular doğuracaktır.

Kadın temizlik işçilerinin gündelik hayat pratiklerine katılımcı görsel anlatı yöntemleri ile kendi gözlerinden bakıyor olmak bir şehircinin pozisyonunda mutlak bir değişiklik yaratacaktır. Açık ki mülakat katılımcılarının ifade ve görüşleri başka türlü bir hayat tahayyül etme becerilerini ellerinden alan iş yükü çevresine odaklanmaktadır. Ancak çeşitlilikleri ve gündelik hayatın içinde farklılaşan özgünlükleri, araştırmacı ve tasarımcılara bilinenin ardındaki bilinmeyeni sorgulama becerisi kazandıracak, normalleşmiş olan mekanın ötesindeki farklılıklar mekanının arayışına teşvik edecektir.

1. INTRODUCTION

In April 2013, the administration of one of the most prestigious foundation universities in İstanbul, made a decision to change the international subcontractor which provided the university with cleaning services. The grounds of the decision was announced as the "outdated rags/rubbers" of the subcontractor firm. This decision resulted with the dismissal of 161 cleaning workers. For sure, this was not a novel excuse to disseize the rights of the contract workers. It was the common capitalist labor process, which molds the bodies for the priority of creating surplus value (Harvey, 2000). Correspondingly, it was a common practice that each year the university hired a different subcontractor, and the workers were hired by the new subcontractor firm in order to prevent them from gaining the severance pay and certain social rights. However, this year the administration of the university decided to make a new start. Successively, a new sub-contractor firm, which had new cleaning rags as well as new workers, was hired. In opposition to that, a collective reaction of the workers, students and the academicians took place. Suddenly the "invisible" and "insignificant" cleaning workers appeared at the most visible place of the university, at the entrance gate of the campus. Surprisingly, the students who pay 3000 TL per month for their university education stood together in solidarity with the workers earning 1000 TL per month. Considering that they had never interacted before, the resistance brought about an opportunity for class encounters, which is a diminishing property of public space. In the beginning of the resistance, the students at the university initiated a collective cleaning movement in order to help the workers, but within a short period of time they noticed that they had to stop cleaning for people to recognize that the cleaning workers were laid off. Consequently, the workers did occupy not only the entrance of the campus but the whole campus through the accumulated dirt of global capitalism.

As a result of the six-day "occupy" resistance, the workers returned back to work gaining certain social rights. However, the precarious conditions of the contract

workers still cause “a precarious way of life”¹ by making them “invisible” through its production of space. Learning from this experience, I began to focus on how the global structural formations limit everyday encounters, deform bodies and daily practices of different groups and classes, and make them invisible by looking from a perspective of spatial production. Compared to the broader processes and more influential classes and groups, which play major parts in shaping the city, individuals –particularly those who have less economic and political means– have relatively less ability to transform the space. Thus, they almost find themselves as passive receivers of an urban system to which they have to adapt in order to survive and eventually become “invisible”.

Influential social theorists like Weber, Simmel, Lefebvre, Sennett and others have theorized the features of the capitalist city, which dissolve the community, transform the public space and the public person, prioritize exchange value over use value, and exacerbate socio-spatial injustices; albeit at the expense of the quality of human life as well as other life forms. On the contrary, it is also asserted by such theories to look at “everyday life” as a concrete dimension of reality (Jesko Fezer, 2010) where the diversity of socio spatial practices resists to the homogenizing forces of global structural configurations. In the urban design practice in Turkey, the lack of approaches attempting to understand the interactions between the individual and the structural dynamics of the city’s physical and social space challenged me to focus on “everyday life”. Consequently, the complexity and diversity of everyday life “stands against the notions of order”, manifested by urban planners and designers come under question (Madanipour, 1996).

Parallely, the theoretical framework of this thesis is conceptualized from a “right to the city” point of view. Lefebvre (1996) states that the inhabitants have the right to appropriate urban space and participate in the production of urban space. However, according to Lefebvre, the rights of the inhabitants who do not share the exchange value are stolen by the ruling classes who have more transformative tools within the processes of production (Lefebvre, 1996). Consequently, the impoverished

¹In the unpublished Msc. Thesis of Seher Sağıroğlu (2013), The “precarious way of life” caused by the precarious employment is profoundly evaluated based on a research on non-appointed teachers in Ankara.

inhabitants (in the sense of their right to the city) become “invisible”. In order to understand the conflict between the “invisibles” and the city shaped by the priority for exchange value gain of the production relations, Henri Lefebvre’s (1991) conceptual tools of “abstract space” and “social space” need explanation. In Lefebvre’s influential book of “Production of Space” (1991), he argues that the “abstract space” is the space of rationality, homogenization, commodification and socio-spatial fragmentation engendering similarities rather than differences. It is, in fact, the way powerful classes and the state use the space in concern with its geometrical properties, location and profit. On the contrary, the “social space” is the space of everyday lived experiences. It is concerned about the use value, and socio-spatial practices unique to that certain place. Therefore, the abstract space reserves contradictions caused by its enforcements. Amongst the contradictions of “abstract space”, Lefebvre sees a potential for a new emerging space. Since these contradictions harbour both the dissolved ones inherited from the past, and the new ones emerged through the reproduction of social relations of production, they create room for transformation. Therefore in “abstract space”, as a precondition and result of its negativity, there remains the new space, which he conceptualizes as “differential space”. It provides a resistance to the homogenizing enforcements of existing diversity or peculiarities within the abstract space. Thus he asserts, “...A new space cannot be born (produced) unless it accentuates differences” (p.52). As a result, he points out the necessity to understand the “everyday life” to propose radical practices to “change life” (Lefebvre, 1991).

As Castree et al. convey (2006), everyday life in the global capitalist world is simultaneously local (placed) and translocal (spaced).² In this regard, the place is

²In *Producing Places* (2001) Hudson assert that “It is of the utmost importance to stress that we live in a world capitalist social relations are dominant, the rationale for production is profit, class and class inequalities do remain, and that wealth distribution does matter” (p.2).

Referring to Hudson, Castree et al put into words as, “Laborers do not live and work on a global isotropic plain nor on the head of a pin. Rather, they are located in a landscape of geographical difference and geographical interconnectivity. Workers always live and work somewhere— even migrant workers. Labor is the most place-based of the factors of production. So if we are to understand what is happening to workers today we must attend to the importance of place. But equally, in this era when capitalism is an increasingly global phenomenon, we need to appreciate that what happens to workers in one place is incomprehensible without paying heed to inter-relations extending across space (p, xiii).

formed by the “routinization” of the relationships between the inhabitants and the institutions regulating the norms and conditions. These relationships have to be regulated through the diverse ways of interactions. If it is not sustained, neither production - reproduction, nor consumption would be possible (Castree 2006). In this regard, it is crucial to understand that the typology of everyday practices in place is highly diverse, subjective and affective within the production of space. This is to say that places are shaped by their inhabitants –“workers and employers, the unemployed and the retired, dependents young and old.”

In this regard, considering the theoretical understanding of the changing socio-economic structures, in this thesis, I attempt to suggest a change in the position of urbanists (urban planner, architect, urban designer, landscape architects etc.). Urbanists tend to look from above where the view is limited with the homogenized urban structure, objective understanding of urban condition, site plans, aesthetic norms and conditions. The distance is not a difference of scale or an optical illusion; it is rather a form of understanding. Therefore, this study aims to propose an approach, which seeks to display the limited view from above. On the other hand, it is crucial not to lose the insight of the view from above.

Regarding the structural transformation within the global capitalist economy, transformations in industry caused flexible and precarious forms of working. The processes of deindustrialization resulted with an increase in the personnel service employment. In last three decades, the new employment contracts forced impoverished women to work in low wage service sectors. Furthermore, the women who do not have access to the educational facilities are obliged to work under flexible and precarious employment conditions. According to Bondi and Christie (2000) the studies show that within these new employment conditions many of the households survived by piecing together their earned income from low-paid or insecure jobs (Bondi and Christie, 2000).

Considering the fact that the design of public spaces has a greater impact on the daily lives of women than on those of men (Garcia-Ramon, Ortiz, Prats 2004), this study is carried out to understand the socio-spatial practices of women who have to work at insecure cleaning employment while they also have to carry out domestic tasks related to family and domestic work. Assuming that women workers are the invisible actors of spatial production both at home and work, female cleaning workers who are

regular or contract labors at the insecure conditions were selected for conducting this research. Therefore, understanding the increased time-space compression of women, their relation to space and their everyday experiences constitute the base of this study in order to attempt to develop radical urban design problematiques.

Additionally, the study aims to develop an understanding of the contemporary city, and its relationships with its inhabitants through diverse practices. Therefore, this study is based on a fieldwork consisting of semi-structured in-depth interviews with 8 female cleaning workers. The interviews were held between August and November of 2013. Throughout the research, participant directed photography and mental mapping methods were used to increase the socio-spatial and diverse knowledge provided from the interviewees. I believe that their everyday experiences present the diverse characteristics and differences of living and working in Istanbul.

This document is divided into 6 chapters. The first chapter describes the topic and defines the key concepts. In Chapter 2, in order to provide a theoretical understanding for the research, the theoretical framework comprising the theory of everyday life, the global capitalist formations and its affect on everyday life, and the urban design field concerned with everyday life is further detailed.

Chapter 3 examines the socio-spatial context of a female service worker in Turkey. Considering the fact that all of the interviewees are migrants; first part of Chapter 3 identifies the conditions of disability to make a living in the metropolis. After giving information about the migration and the later adaptation processes within the metropolis, the changing employment structure in the metropolis is also mentioned. In the third part of the chapter the transformation processes of ‘gecekondu’ neighborhoods into apartment blocks is summarized since more than half of the interviewees have experienced such transformations within their neighborhoods. The last part of this chapter is composed of the transformations within the workplace of the service worker. By doing this, it is aimed to draw the whole picture, which would form the insight of the conditions and transformations that a female service worker would experience.

Chapter 4 frames the methodology used throughout the research. With this study, in order to define the aforementioned relationship, two crucial stages of the analysis are configured. Initially, it is aimed to investigate critically and expressively the design

elements, visual languages and narratives of women embedded in cities with the help of query phase. Secondly, the information of the in-depth interviews are conceptualized and mapped in accordance with the social-spatial practices of the interviewees. Thus, the methodology consists of a qualitative inquiry through in-depth interviews and participant directed photography with an analysis through representation and mapping.

Chapter 5 is dedicated to everyday life analysis of the female service workers to map and conceptualize their socio-spatial practices, emotions and feelings, perceptions related with the city. Aided by the interdisciplinary methods and tools, and questioning “the view from below”, the everyday experiences of the female service workers are classified according to the spaces of production, spaces of reproduction, social change and everyday life and inbetween spaces to provide a better understanding of the relationship between the female cleaning workers and the city.

Finally, the results of the analyses are used to understand the possible repercussions of the socio-spatial practices in urban design. Through that, it is attempted to question the contemporary problematics and processes of urban design at the level of everyday life where the subjective experiences occur, spatial practices of the inhabitants are diversified, the everyday life becomes far more than a “quotidienne” and rather becomes an act of “resistance.”

2. THEORY OF EVERYDAY LIFE IN URBAN DESIGN

Henri Lefebvre in *Urban Revolution*, points out the need of “methodological tools” for providing a complex and elaborate understanding of the urban phenomena. Therefore Lefebvre (2003) puts forward the concepts of “levels” and “dimensions” (p. 77-102) with an attempt to analyse the city through different layers of scale by avoiding strict categorizations and hierarchical mindsets. The levels and dimensions mediate the influences of different scales and the concrete reality of life occurs at city. In result he proposes levels of societal intercourses, which occur at three socio-spatial levels: the “global”, “mixed” and “private”.

The global level stands for the relations of state and society. In result the global level derives from the most abstract relations such as market and the politics of space, which are reflected on the built environment (as large scale urban projects, monuments, new towns). Through logics, and strategies of capital, global level describes the institutions, ideologies and the state as dominant shapers of the built environment through exchange value and capital accumulation.

Mixed level accommodates an intermediary position between the global (the state, global power, knowledge, institutions) and the private levels (level of habiting). According to Lefebvre (2003) the mixed level is the urban level which “provides the characteristic unity of the social ‘real’, or group” (p.80). Therefore the urban level represents a socio-spatial collectivism which obtains a field of “defence or attack, for struggle” between the global and the private level (Lefebvre, 2003, 89). Therefore mixed level features against the generality of the global level, which has a tendency of absorbing particularities of inhabitation.

The private level is delineated as the level of inhabiting where the lived experience and act of place making occur. It is the level where everyday life practices become revolutionary within the logic of urban rationality. Therefore this chapter theoretically attempts to frame the level of inhabiting as a matter of urban design.

2.1 Theory of Everyday Life and the Production of Space

Lefebvre (1988) finds it necessary to conduct an elaborate research on everyday life. By looking at it, he aims to find out the “unfamiliar” within the “familiar” while reminding us the dictum of Hegel: ‘the familiar (das Bekannte) just because it is familiar (bekannt) is not well known (erkannt).’ Reading Hegel, he claims that the repetition, which turns our daily practices into routine, does not necessarily mean that we know how we live (as cited in Lefebvre, 1988). Thus familiarity does not help to understand; we need to excavate more to find out the unfamiliar that is hidden among the familiar. No matter how banal and routine it is, our daily lives accommodate the “extraordinary” within their “ordinariness” (Lefebvre, 1988). Hence, analyzing everyday life corresponds to reading between the lines of a text, which is successively and continuously rewritten (Lefebvre, 1988).

In *Spaces of Hope* (2000), David Harvey reasserts the need to look beyond what we see in the routine of our daily life. In order to play our professional roles, we normalize the conditions of space and time through our repetitive practices by the enforcement of the technological developments, and limitless capital accumulation. “The speed, the reductions in the friction of distance and of turnover times” (p.195) prevent people from spending time on thinking about the alternatives of the conditions and daily practices of their life. Here Harvey (2000) refers to Adam Smith who states that the courage and consciousness of the worker is formed and limited by the ordinariness of his employment and uniformity. Acknowledging Smith, Harvey (2000) questions the ways to overcome the secure realm of the routine (as cited in Harvey, 2000). The routine masks the restlessness, which would be revealed by radical change (Harvey, 2000). “The everyday” limits the vision to see what we really want and need, how we are and would be, what we possess and share. Consequently, Harvey bears out what Lefebvre reveals for the critique of everyday life. Paralelly Elden states that everyday life is the point of contact and conflict between desire and need, the serious and the frivolous, nature and culture, the public and the private (Elden, 2004).

Upton (2002) asserts that, Lefebvre not only delineates everyday life as a colonized setting of oppression, banality, routine, passivity and unconsciousness but also asserts that it reserves a setting for the ultimate reality and emancipation. The

extraordinary within the ordinariness is the path for radical change (Upton, 2002). On the other hand he does not really think that “the everyday” corresponds to the original English translation of the word “la quotidienne.” By the word “everyday” he actually means the ordinary repetition continuously iterating itself in daily life.

Although Lefebvre does not describe the everyday as a mode of production, he conveys that “la quotidienne” refers to the repetitive predominance in time. And the predominance of repetition becomes the new way of life, which accommodates the basis of domination and exploitation. However it is a contradictory issue, which satisfies humans but at the same time suppresses them. Lefebvre sees the success of the “instituting of the everyday in the modern world” (p.80) behind the logic of controlled clock time and predominated repetitive practices, which suppress the fear of death, the ultimate end with its tragedy. It dissimulates the tragic since “the great fear of future – the destruction of the planet- remains abstract for the overwhelming majority of people”(p.80). On the other hand the concept provides satisfaction of the needs it has produced. But it also brings about a joyless dissatisfaction, longing for something different. As a matter of fact, it cannot be evaluated as a product of certain epistemological rules nor a deconstructed reality. Correspondingly, it is the lived experience (*le vécu*), which can be conceptualized to change it. Thus, he believes the struggle to change “everyday life” will be a complementary process for the “project for society”. The revolution cannot be successful just with the changes in the institutions and the political personnel; hence the radical change in the “literally colonized” everyday life is a fundamental necessity for a complete success as well. Therefore if we want to change the world we want to change life itself (Lefebvre, 1988).

Lefebvre conceptualizes the transformation of the “everyday” within three periods in history (Lefebvre, 1991). The first one is the period when it was neglected and ignored by philosophy and the philosophers. The everyday was delineated by the rhythms of nature at the city - an aggregate of villages. And the rhythm of the city with its inhabitants’ daily life was determined within the time intervals of nature as day, night, weeks, seasons and years. Although the era of capitalism had already started, the everyday had not come into its focus until the middle of the twentieth century, though it was dominated by religion and use value (in Marxian terms).

The second period coincides with the end of the Second World War when the built environment was massively destroyed. This era brings about a giant wave of industrialization and urbanization. Hence everyday life began to be seized by the pervasive logic of the market, money and the commodity. Thus the exchange value prevailed over use value with an uncontrolled extension of capitalism through the details of the ordinary life (Lefebvre, 1979). The processes and the relations of production determine who produces for whose consumption. The clock time programs the needs and the everyday with the introduction of technology.

In the third period (post-second world war), which he described the present of his time, everyday life became a tool for introducing the multinational companies into the economy via the ordinary consumer goods. Technical revolution succeeded the necessary formation of social and political revolution, and capitalism diffused into everyday life. The new class of technocrats arose in this new era sharing their power with the military and the political parties. Since then the technocrats schedule “everyday” through advertisements and the media. In this third stage the everyday life is not only scheduled but also mediated and controlled through the marketing processes. It is managed and administrated, and consequently becomes the dominant social practice of the middle classes while the poorer people long to have access to its norms.

Lefebvre therefore puts the emergence of everyday life as a problematic, which has a historical nature. Lefebvre (1971) suggests that since the establishment of capitalism in the nineteenth century its impact has gradually grown: “From then the prose of the world spread, until now it invades everything - literature, art and objects - and all the poetry of existence has been evicted.”(p.29). Only after World War Two did capitalism really start to become involved in everyday life. This is obviously debatable –that the workers' villages set up around factories and pits, where the gin house or pub was owned by the capitalist in order to receive wages back into the system demonstrates the control of workers' limited leisure time was apparent much earlier (Lefebvre, 1971). But Lefebvre's point is that there has been a shift in the extent of this - with shorter working hours, labour-saving appliances at home and disposable income opportunities have increased.

Thus according to Lefebvre, everyday life is a tool for extension of the capitalist mode of production. Acknowledging Rosa Luxemburg's question why capitalism

was not dissolved as Marx projected (as cited in Lefebvre, 1988); Lefebvre argues that realization of capital through urbanization has been a means by which capitalism has prolonged and even expanded. He notes that the capitalist relations have established an industry, and it became integrated in the industry, agriculture, the historic city and then in space. As a result, it has started to produce “the quotidienne”.

The style of modern life has disappeared under capitalism, it is because of this that life has become everyday. Modern life yearns for a style, but despite its attempts at resurrecting former styles, a unified style eludes it (Lefebvre, 1991). This may be because the search to implant a previous style into the modern world is doomed to rejection. Now how could we define “the everyday” in its fourth period under the predominance of global capitalism? An analysis of everyday life within today’s production relations is a subject, which has to be taken up by contemporary researchers.

2.2 Two Spheres of the Analysis of Everyday Life: Production and Reproduction

The context of “everyday life” conveys a significant field in the study of urbanism and social sciences. Henri Lefebvre revealed this significance in the aftermath of the May 1968 working class uprising with a demand for a radical change in France. He asserts that the particular cry “Change life!” of May 1968 was a breaking point to question the fundamental concepts and tools of Marxism, which is a project of changing life itself (Lefebvre, 1988). Thus, the focus of Lefebvre’s inquiry was not only the body of theory and the concepts of Marxism but also the contemporary and potential transformations in social relations. Here, Lefebvre saw the everyday life as a “screen” to display what has already changed or remained un-changed. Therefore his inquiry took place at the level of everyday life to ask how the changing/unchanging conditions affected the contemporary world with its relation to Marxism. With respect to the work of inquiry and the exposure of everyday life as a concept, he admits his essential contribution to Marxism (Elden, 2004)

By recognizing Marxism’s potential of preserving the critical knowledge of everyday life, Lefebvre does not find it complete. However he acknowledges that Marx comprises a potential for analyzing the everyday life even if it is not really

pronounced (Lefebvre, 1991). Marx's significant Hegelian concept of "alienation", describes that capitalism discharges individual from their productive activity and their social relationships, as a result it causes the volatilization of their essence of humanity. With respect to the concept, Marxists have principally related this theory to the workspace, work experience and wage labor (Moore, 2011). However in the 1844 Manuscripts³, Marx remarks that the political economy leaves a lacuna in dealing with the workers' free time instead of considering the worker as a human being (Marx,2009). Further to that Lefebvre aims to fill in the gap by trying to elaborate the critique of everyday life. He points out the lived experiences of the workers outside the domain of labor, in social and political relations (Lefebvre, 1988). Thus, according to Lefebvre, the critique of everyday life has to deal with work and leisure together since "there can be alienation in leisure just as in work" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 148). Heading away from this, he clarifies how capitalism dominated the twentieth century's social economic and cultural spheres through its interference on everyday life and urban experience. Hence, it is crucial to understand his critique of everyday life for excavating the urban problematic of the 70s and that of today's under neoliberal urbanism.

The uprisings seeking social justice all around the world (occupy Wall Street, Gezi, Arab Spring, etc.), revealed the question of today's neoliberal production of urban condition and its effect on everyday life. According to David Harvey⁴, the struggle for changing the conditions of social-spatial injustices requires a unitary analysis of production of value, surplus value and its realization within the relations of neoliberalism. By criticizing Marxist researchers for not satisfactorily evaluating the two volumes of *The Capital*, he stresses the difference Marx had stated between the production and realization of the value. He simply explains that the surplus value is a result of production processes, which is elaborated in Volume One of *The Capital*. However, Harvey reminds us the significance of the second volume of *The Capital*, which comprises the process of realization (Harvey, 2013).

From this standpoint, in order to express the importance of the struggle over urban space he puts forward the contradictory unity of capital: until value is realized in the

³<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/Economic-Philosophic-Manuscripts-1844.pdf>

⁴http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/15156/on-why-struggles-over-urban-space-matter_an-interv

market, there exists no value in what has been produced by the labor. With respect to that, the surplus value produced at the workplace does not have to be realized in the same place, it can be realized in another place. Thus Harvey sees urbanization as a process of realization of the surplus value. Accordingly, the urban struggle is as important as the struggles for the conditions of the workplace and wage. Therefore, the simultaneous analyses of both spheres become crucial for understanding what happens at the workplace and the cities to understand the effects of contradictory unity of the capital.

As Lefebvre and Harvey point out, the accessibility to public places and services, affordability of goods and needs and the quality of everyday life in the city are directly related with the class struggle. Without this vision, we would never understand that, the process of accumulation and the realization of capital via urbanism would extract the “success” from what is gained out of the struggle over workspace and production. Therefore the worker can think about not only what happens at the point of production but also the conditions at the living place, how much she/he pays for the rents, bills and charges. In result the production of the urban condition (which is the process of realization) affects the way cities are being shaped according to the cost of living, to what extent and for whom the services are accessible, and how the urban stratification occurs. Thus in order to discuss social justice, we have to look at the conditions of the working class in the city as a whole, rather than only concentrating on the workplace. Hence Harvey claims that we do not deal with the way cities are being shaped as much as by whom they are being shaped. With the reign of global capitalism, now the factory labor is being decimated, as the mobility of the workers increase, the organization among them becomes harder. Consequently the working class becomes invisible at the places of consumption and services. However they are still place based and the ones “who produce and reproduce urban life”(Harvey,2013).

According to Castree et al (2006) the wage-work and the wage-workers are local, in the way they put it, and they are “placed” (Castree et. al. 2006). On the other hand, Pratt and Hanson (1995) reveal that the world’s getting more and more connected, it has to be kept in balance since many people still have local lives within their living spaces (Pratt & Hanson, 1995). Thus the so-called “globalized world” still comprises local and place-based workers. Castree et al. (2006) assert the situation of being local

in seven certain aspects: With reference to time and money, production, reproduction, consumption, regulation, labor market and place attachment, their local existence is asserted. First the lack of time and money does not allow the workers to travel. It is as simple as Harvey expresses that 'the labor-power has to go home every night' (Harvey, 1989, p.19). The same reason actually remains as a kind of determinant for the consequent reasons. Secondly there is still a fixed point of production where the activities of labor power take place because the production of commodities still requires a physical work place. Thirdly the reproduction of labor takes place at central institutions of everyday life. Thus workspace and the living space are both simultaneously shaping the landscape of labor. And as a component of reproduction, workers not only produce commodity but also consume it. The practices of consumption still require a certain place for the workers. On the other hand, certain consumption patterns might belong to the same locality. The local existence of the workers requires regulation and organization on a local level. Although the mechanisms of regulation practice at the level of national or international institutions, the actions depend on the local membership or sharing the same place of struggle. The labor market is also to be locally constituted, since the operation of work differs in different places. Hence the sale and the purchase of the waged worker require a place-based condition of the labor and employers. The restricted mobility gives their local spaces priority among others. Correspondingly, labor is distinct from other commodities. It develops an attachment to place, related with the place and its identity (Castree et al. 2004).

Thus if we read the local existence of labor from the perspective of David Harvey, they are the producers of urban life and the products of life itself. In a way, they take part in both of the processes of capital at the same place of production and realization in urban life. And consequently we have to see the production and reproduction in urban life as a field of class struggle since all the class relations are embedded in the city. If we assume that production and reproduction of urban life areas of class struggle, the relationship of the workers with the city is crucial to understand to what extent the space impedes or suppresses them in everyday life (Figure 2.1).

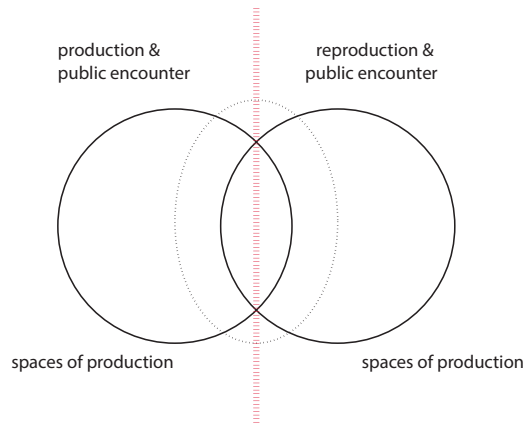


Figure 2.1 : Two spheres of the Analysis of Everyday Life .

3. THE SOCIO-SPATIAL CONTEXT OF THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF FEMALE SERVICE SECTOR WORKER

This chapter sketches the major components of the social and economic context in which the interviewed group of people have spent their lives. The profile of the interviewees is as follows; female, children of low-income parents, born in villages or small towns, migrated into İstanbul sometime in their lives with their parents or through marriage (first/second generation migrants) and unskilled

Lives of these women were influenced by wider processes, which have caused;

1. Their disability to make a living in the village or small town and their migration into the metropolis.
2. A shift from industry to services, thus increasing flexibility of work relations and female employment characterising the employment structure and job market in the metropolis.
3. Regularisation of informal housing and subsequent density increases in low-income neighbourhoods causing an ongoing effort to improve housing conditions.
4. Transition of the workplace from the factory to luxurious office and service spaces.

3.1 Disability to Make a Living in the Village or Small Town and Migration into the Metropolis

A major component of the context in which the sample group lived was a decline in the populations and economies of villages and small towns. The proportion of people living in villages has constantly decreased since the first population census of the country in 1927 (Table 3.1). This decrease accelerated after 1945 when structural reforms triggered the twin processes of industrialisation and urbanisation. These processes created novel opportunities for farmers and agricultural workers to make a living in the city. The decline in the proportion of the village population was also

attributable to the transformations in property rights on agricultural land and agricultural policy. Agricultural policy, which tended to protect and support farmers upto the 2000s took an opposite direction in the 2000s. New policies retreated the protective policies and supported liberalisation of trade. This caused further decline in the village population and agricultural production demonstrated by the decrease in the proportion of the gross value added produced in this sector (from 10,71% in 2004 to 9,46% in 2010 (Table 3.2). Parallely, proportion of employment in agriculture fell from 29,1% to 24,6% in the respective years (Table 3.3).

Table 3.1 : Urban and rural population.

Years	Total population	City population %	Village population %
*1950	20.947.188	25,04	74,96
*1955	24.064.763	28,79	71,21
*1960	27.754.820	31,92	68,08
*1965	31.391.421	34,42	65,58
*1970	35.605.176	38,45	61,55
*1975	40.347.719	41,81	58,19
*1980	44.736.957	43,91	56,09
*1985	50.664.458	53,03	46,97
*1990	56.473.035	59,01	40,99
*1995	n.a.		
*2000	67.803.927	64,90	35,10
**2007	70.586.256	70,48	29,52
**2012	75.627.384	77,28	22,72

Sources:

*Turkish Statistical Institute, Population Census 1927-2000

**Turkish Statistical Institution, Population of Province/District Centres and Towns/Villages, Census Sytem Based on Address

The above-mentioned processes had crucial repercussions on people's lives, causing the migration of individuals and households into cities where they were expecting to be able to make a living. Accordingly, the focused group of the research is migrant women who are either migrated for marriage or employment. Four of them either born in Istanbul or were infants when their parents moigrated to Istanbul. Others moved to Istanbul for the purpose of marriage in their 20's. Only one of them moved after she divorced.

3.2 Employment Structure in the Metropolis

3.2.1 Shift from industry to services

In the metropolis, potential unskilled female workers face a job market dominated by sector jobs, which in their case amounts to personal services jobs. Moreover this tendency has been subject to increase year by year. Industrial production and employment decrease constantly proportional to the service sector (Table 3.2). Services make up a major part of the gross value added in Turkey in 2010 (64,13%) as well as in İstanbul (73,50%). It has been increasing relative to industry and agriculture. Value added in services has increased from 61,32% in 2004 to 64,13 in 2010, while the proportion of industry and agriculture has decreased from 27,97 to 26,42% and 10,71 to 9,46% respectively. This tendency has been greater in İstanbul where value added in services has increased from 70,72% in 2004 to 73,50 in 2010, while the proportions of industry and agriculture has decreased from 28,90 to 26,31 and 0,38 to 0,20% respectively.

Table 3.2 : Gross value added.

	Turkey		İstanbul	
	2004	2010	2004	2010
Services	61,32	64,13	70,72	73,50
Industry	27,97	26,42	28,90	26,31
Agriculture	10,71	9,46	0,38	0,20
Gross value added	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00

Source: TurkStat, Regional Gross Value Added, 2004-2010

Parallel to the gross value added produced in the country; services also make up a major component of employment. 49,4% of total employment is created in services, while 24,9% in industry and construction, and 29,1% in agriculture. Moreover, the proportion of people employed in services has increased between 2004 and 2003, from 46,0 to 49,4% respectively.

The predominance of service sector jobs as opposed to industrial jobs has had crucial repercussions on the lives of unskilled female workers (Table 3.3). The deskilling, flexibility and low wages involved in such jobs have worsened the conditions of

these women. The cleaning jobs carried out by the interviewees contain extreme forms of all these changes in work relations.

Table 3.3 : Employment by years and economic activity (age 15+).

	Turkey	
	2004	2012
Services	46,0	49,4
Industry and construction	24,9	19,1
Agriculture	29,1	24,6
Total	100,0	

Source: TurkStat, The results of Household Labour Force Survey

3.2.2 Increasing flexibility of work relations in female employment

In the 2000s a major task of government reform has been to increase flexibility in the labour market, albeit in regulated terms. Hence, the 10th Development Plan which defines this task as one of plan's targets calls its approach 'secure flexibility'. The plan analyses an increase in female participation to the labour force (which is set as a symptom of flexibility) 23.6% in 2006 to 29.5% in 2012 and targets further increases in 2013 (30.9%) and 2018 (34.9%). (SPO, 2014, p.51) The plan also predicts decreases in unregistered employment (from 47.0% in 2006 to 30.0% in 2018), thus showing the plan's intention to increase flexibility without having the state loose control of the transactions in the economy. The plan introduces a programme which targets the unemployed, the women who do not participate in the labour market and the unregistered workers, intending to integrate them into the labour market in as much flexible terms as possible (p.186)⁵.

Figures show that female employment is already on the rise, in total and in certain sectors of the economy (Table 3.4).

⁵10th Development Plan: http://pbk.tbmm.gov.tr/dokumanlar/10-kalkinma_plani.pdf

Table 3.4 : Economic Activity by Years and Sex, Nace Rev.1.

Total		AGRICULTURE				INDUSTRY				CONSTRUCTION				SERVICES															
	%	Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing		Mining and quarrying		Manufacturing		Electricity, gas and water		Wholesale and retail trade, hotels and restaurants		Transportation, communication and storage		Finance, insurance, real estate and business services		Community, social and personal services													
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female												
2005	55.10	25.71	55.10	44.90	50.82	97.94	2.06	0.04	79.18	20.82	15.43	92.50	7.50	0.12	97.31	2.69	0.52	87.43	12.57	10.03	93.77	6.23	1.29	71.79	28.21	4.44	72.42	27.58	17.32
2005	74.55	25.45	54.07	45.93	46.34	98.18	2.73	0.06	79.62	20.38	15.94	91.89	6.76	0.10	97.47	2.53	0.55	86.60	13.40	11.37	93.11	6.89	1.45	72.38	27.62	4.70	70.23	29.77	19.52
2006	74.25	25.75	53.25	46.77	43.65	98.31	1.69	0.04	79.91	20.07	15.52	94.12	7.06	0.11	96.91	3.09	0.70	85.08	14.92	12.74	92.82	7.18	1.50	71.89	28.11	5.33	68.98	31.02	20.43
2007	74.17	25.83	52.97	47.01	42.72	98.44	1.56	0.04	79.92	20.08	15.33	94.90	4.08	0.07	97.08	2.84	0.65	84.51	15.47	13.16	92.87	7.13	1.51	71.94	28.06	5.53	68.65	31.38	20.97
2008	73.60	26.40	53.09	46.93	42.07	97.39	2.61	0.05	80.43	19.55	14.80	93.41	7.69	0.13	96.62	3.38	0.75	83.64	16.38	13.39	92.01	7.99	1.55	72.20	27.80	5.81	67.22	32.78	21.47
2009	72.41	27.59	53.44	46.56	41.66	97.09	2.91	0.05	78.42	21.60	14.53	92.31	7.69	0.10	96.88	3.12	0.66	83.00	17.00	13.15	91.67	8.23	1.52	71.47	28.53	6.51	65.21	34.79	21.82
Rate of incr. betw. 2004 and 2009		7.32		3.69		41.39				3.75		2.56			16.08			35.22			32.15			1.13			26.15		
Rate of incr. betw. 2004-2009 (ave)		7.32		3.69								15.90			23.45												23.66		

Source: TurkStat, Household Labour Power Study - The table has been produced by reference to the Household Labour Power Study by TurkStat

* % of female employment in total female employment (1thousand person, 15+ age)

Source: TurkStat, Household Labour Power Study - The table has been produced by reference to the Household Labour Power Study by TurkStat
 * % of female employment in total female employment (Thousand person, 15+ age)

The proportion of women in the total number of employed people has risen from 25.71% in 2004 to 27.59 percent in 2009 with a 7.32% rate of increase between these years. While this aggregate increase has taken place in all sectors of the economy, the rate of increase has been above the country's total in mining and quarrying (41.39%), wholesale and retail trade, hotels and restaurants (35.22%), transportation, communication and storage (32.15%), community, social and personal services (26.15%) and construction (16.08%), respectively.

The leading sector in the rate of increase of female employment (mining and quarrying) is a small sector, employing only 0.05% of the total number of employed women, otherwise figures demonstrate the predominance of the service sector (except for the producer services categorised as finance, insurance, real estate and business services) in the sectors which have experienced the highest rate of increases in female employment. This shows a tendency of feminisation in this sector, which may be attributable among other things to the flexibilities involved in employing women.

Figures also demonstrate that the sectors which contained the highest proportion of female employment above the country's total of 27.59% in 2009 were agriculture (46.56%), community, social and personal services (34.79%), finance, insurance, real estate and business services (28.53%), respectively. Services again predominated female employment following the leading agricultural sector. However, although agriculture has traditionally absorbed female employment, rate of increase in female employment in this sector has been one of the lowest (3.69%) among all sectors between 2005 and 2009. Thus, services sector appears once more as a dominant sector in female employment.

3.2.3 Increase in female employment

The pay gap between the male and female employees doing the same job is one of the reasons why firms prefer female workers. In this respect, it increases the opportunities of women for employment. However, it also has a negative impact on the livelihoods of female workers.

The 16.5% pay gap for employees at the lowest end of the educational spectrum (primary school and below, primary education and secondary school) point to a

considerable inequality between the incomes of the sexes. A similar figure (13,9%) is there for the occupations, which do not require skills (Table 3.5).

Table 3.5 : Gender pay gap.

	Annual average gross wage			Gender pay gap (%)*
	Total	Male	Female	
Education				
Primary school and below	12.237	12.597	10.519	16,5
Primary education and secondary school	12.192	12.571	10.470	16,7
High school	15.117	15.531	13.969	10,1
Vocational high school	18.759	19.442	15.647	19,5
Higher education	31.486	33.547	28.184	16,1
Major occupational group				
Managers	43.825	43.073	46.201	-7,3
Professionals	31.520	34.549	27.861	19,4
Technicians and associate professionals	22.082	22.536	20.865	7,4
Clerical support workers	18.875	19.383	18.203	6,1
Occupations which do not require skills	12.075	12.449	10.713	13,9
*Based on total wages in 2010: (male wages – female wages)/male wages*100. Source:TurkStat, Structure of Earnings Survey				

3.3 Regularisation of Informal Buildings and Subsequent Density Increases in Low-Income Neighbourhoods

Housing and economic policies in Turkey in the last 60 years have put forth owner-occupation as the predominant relation with the place to live in. Eventually it has become the major mode of housing in Turkey with 67.3% of the households owning one or more housing units, while 23.8% rent out their houses (Table 3.6). This tendency decreases in the metropolis with 60.6% owning one or more housing and 31.5 renting out.⁶ An owned home is perceived as a potential commodity, thus forming social security or insurance, besides as a place to shelter, live and socialise. The double function of owner-occupied housing has set it at the centre of lifelong struggles of households to make a living in the city. This struggle has characterised the central aspect of their lives, particularly of the female members of the households. Women have been regarded responsible from making the home and

⁶Source: TurkStat, Population and Housing Research

caring for the children, while men were granted more freedom to take care of themselves in the public space outside of home.

Table 3.6 : Property rights in housing.

	Turkey	İstanbul
Owner	67.3	60.6
Renter	23.8	31.5
Lodgement	1.5	0.9
Not owner but not paying rent	7.3	7.0

Source: TurkStat, Population and Housing Research

Low-income neighbourhoods went through major transformations in the period in which the interviewees inhabited İstanbul (1990s and 2000s). Prior to these years, most buildings in these neighbourhoods did not conform to urban planning and/or property regulations. Buildings and apartment units in these neighbourhoods were regularised in late 1980s and the 1990s. Regularisation schemes based on an amnesty law in 1983 were followed by further increases in density by means of revisions to urban plans. Thus, a major component of the context in which the interviewees spent their lives was constant amendments and additions to buildings and ongoing efforts to improve urban infra and supestructures by various public organisations. These constant changes in the urban environment stamped the lives of women by bringing the struggle to improve their housing conditions.

3.4 Transition of the Workplace from the Factory to Luxurious Office and Service Spaces

Considering the fact that within the context of economic restructuring and integration in the global economy, the Provincial Environmental Plan of İstanbul⁷ propose an increase in the share of service employment from %60 to %70, while the industrial employment decreases from %32 to /25, and agriculture decreases from %8 to %5 (ÇDP, 2009, p.566). This sectoral transformation is remaining as one of the major component of the context in which interviewees live.

Based on the research conducted by Çalışkan et al (2012) on the Geography of transformation in İstanbul the superposed map of figure shows the sprawled locations

⁷http://www.planlama.org/images/stories/Dokuman/istanbul_cdp/6_planlama_yaklasimi.pdf

of shopping malls, luxurious residences, gated estates, and office places in Istanbul.⁸ Parallel to the transformation of the industry and manufacturing sectors, the drastic increase in housing and service, which produces personal service employment, becomes legible (Figure 3.1).

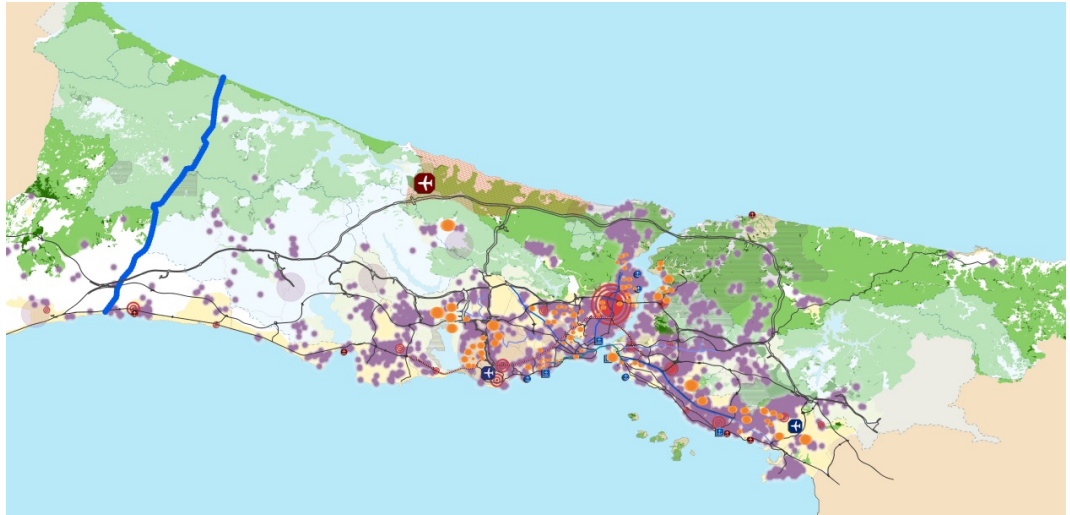


Figure 3.1 : The unsustainable transformation of Istanbul (Çalışkan et al, 2012).

Considering both national and local scale economic restructuring, the workplaces of the low-wage work are gentrified. All of the interviewees asserted that, they started to work at their 12- 13 ages at the manufacturing sector, which is placed in their neighborhoods. However, for the sake of obtaining social security and avoiding health related problems, all of them decided to work at service sector, which are placed in the central and luxurious places of the city. The new workplaces were not only in the centre of the city but also they were the places where groups with diverse socio-economic background produce and reproduce. These constant changes in the workplaces transformed the perception of inequality and class encounters.

⁸<http://istanbuldonusumcogrfyasi.wordpress.com>

4. METHODOLOGY: UNDERSTANDING EVERYDAY EXPERIENCES AND THE CITY

Lefebvre suggests a necessary and critical distance between the researcher and everyday life we investigate. In a way, with a step back to the object of investigation, we need to be alienated to what we are living in (Lefebvre, 1971). Hence a critical understanding and action together can combine the theory and the praxis simultaneously. Thus the “lived” and the “real”, “formal structure” and the “content” can be evaluated within the analysis. Embracing both approaches he attempts to forge a different track in three volumes of the critique of Everyday Life and suggests “a theory of needs”, an “analysis of the romantic press on the sociological level” and an analysis of class relations. In the preface of *The Critique of Every day Life* Volume II, Trebitsch(2002) reveals that the book also aims to criticize the previous methods of quantitative sociology and surveys conducted through surveys and questionnaires(Trebitsch, 2002). Considering Lefebvrian thought and the years passed since he pointed out the concept of everyday life, the question of how to investigate “everyday life” becomes crucial for conceptualizing and problematizing today’s social relations.

Considering that, an interdisciplinary methodology is formed. Therefore, the methodology is developed on a qualitative research as a combination of semi-structured in-depth interviews, participant directed photography, mental mapping and observation.

4.1 In-depth Interviews

In order to understand the subjective experiences and to what extent the city appeals to cleaning service workers and socio-spatial practices, in-depth semi structured interviews are conducted with female cleaning service workers.

The necessity of combining two attributes of the production of space(view from below and above, lived and percieved) within the design processes requires an interdisciplinary method for understanding subjective and objective realities of urban

space. Thus this study is based on the fieldwork, which is conducted between August and December of 2013 by interviewing 8 female service workers. The research was based on a combination of semi-structured in-depth interviews, participant directed photography and mental mapping.

The semi-structured in-depth interviews focused on the certain knowledge about the background information of the interviewees, their daily practices at work, living space and in-between places (transportation, places of reproduction) and their perceptions of the urban space. Several questions related to the place of living include the daily practices in their neighborhood, their opinions about the environment, their social network and family relations at the neighborhood, their problems, expectations, imaginations and desires about their living places, their comparison of other neighborhoods, transportation facilities, and their experience on socio-spatial injustices through their living environment and Istanbul. Moreover, their relationships at the workplace with managers and customers, workload and their occupation at work, the socio-spatial sphere related to their workplace, their opinions about the cleaning work and the place of work were questioned. On the other hand, questions related to their leisure activities and places of reproduction were asked; within the form and concept of their places of escape, fear, isolation, collectivity, crowdedness, desires, and expectations. In addition to detailed inquiry on the past and the present conditions and perceptions about their urban environment, the questions about their future goals and expectations about the future were posed as well.

Correspondingly, while the necessary interviews were being conducted, the photos taken by the interviewees filled the gap of evaluating their unnoticed spatial practices and thoughts on urban space. For such a process, three meetings were organized with each worker at the very least, either at their homes, neighborhoods or their workplaces.

There were some advantages and shortcomings while I conducted the research. The first limitation was the difficulties involved in getting a spectrum of the sample population from which to choose meaningful samples of “workplace” and “interviewee”. When I first decided to choose workplaces at central locations within the city, I recognized the invisibility of the cleaning workers at hotels and shopping malls. Thus I attempted to meet human resource managers of related places to ask for

their help in meeting with the female cleaning workers. However none of them allowed me to interview with the workers. Moreover, even if I encountered any of the housekeepers in their working places, the rules, which did not allow them to talk with the clients in such places, undermined the process of the research. Thus I had to use my personal networks to reach the workers working in any public or private institution, hotel or shopping mall, which required subcontract labor for cleaning services. I could contact 16 women, however only 8 of them volunteered to talk with me. The others, who did not want to meet, reasoned the insecure conditions and their fear of losing their jobs. These were the limitations, which already reflect the oppression and fear among workers based on the precarious working conditions. However, such limitations called into question the social and personal consequences of precariousness in female cleaning workers' everyday life for further research.

The other shortcomings were the difficulties in conducting the interviews in parallel with visual narration through participant directed photography. Since the female cleaning workers are occupied both at living place and workplace with several workloads (professional and domestic work), they do not have enough leisure time. Therefore it was difficult for me to arrange the meetings. In order to conduct interviews I had to visit many of the interviewees' houses and neighborhoods. Besides, due to the fact that all of the workers are underprivileged with poorer wages, their decisions of housing were limited with the former *gecekondu* neighborhoods, which are generally situated in the periphery of Istanbul. Thus I had to take long distance trips to meet them. On the other hand, I had a chance to experience how they live and how their close relationships are shaped, both by visiting their houses and making daily trips with them to the neighborhoods I have never been. In addition to that, I noticed that the ones whom I have met in their work places were more reluctant to speak and they introduced me as their relatives when their workfellows asked about me. Correspondingly I spent a considerable amount of time with them, both at their workplaces and homes. In fact, since these workers were allowed only one day off a week, I had to arrange the appointments which were suitable for them. Therefore the inquiry phase took much longer than I expected not only because of the time limitation of the interviewees but also my own time limitation as a precarious worker; I had to arrange my own schedule.

The final shortcoming is the size of the selected group of the fieldwork (8 interviewees due to the limited number of contact). A larger sample would better reflect the diversity of socio-spatial practices of women. Although attention was paid to capture the diversity in the workplaces to have a better understanding of different experiences of urban space; the sample workplaces remained limited with Taksim, Kuruçeşme, Beşiktaş, Çapa and Maslak. If there were no limitations in time and contacts, this study could have contained a comparative analysis of working and life conditions and experiences of urban space of many other service workers. Nevertheless, this study does not have a claim of representability. Rather, it attempts to understand common tendencies and experiences of precarious workingwomen in order to propose an approach for urbanists.

4.2 Visual Narration of Social Reality

As an analytical backbone for researching the daily practices of the female service workers, I used “visual narratives” in order to define their personal relationship with İstanbul. This methodology has several features. First, visual narratives of the interviewees as highly subjective recordings criticize the production of disembodied and aestheticized subjects of observers in the former traditions of urban photography (Datta, 2011). Additionally, being both verbal and pictorial, visual narration clarifies interviewees’ ways of “inhabiting” and their position within the process of production of space. The photographs become an indicator of their spatial practices, the way they conceive and perceive space and the ideological position. Thirdly it grabs the “extraordinariness within the ordinariness of everyday life” by signifying the contact and conflict between desire and need, nature and culture, and public and private. Through those dimensions, phenomenological, critical and deconstructive stances of an everyday life analysis can be enhanced and multiple positions in approach and evaluation can be brought up.

According to Ayona Datta, this versatility in positions becomes important to indicate not only the struggle for survival but also the competence and desire among interviewees to take part in urban life (Datta, 2011). In her research on the migrant construction workers’ cosmopolitanism, Datta uses participant directed photography in order to obtain a subjective standpoint of urban experience rather than elaborating the “objective mapping” of social reality from the point of view of the observer.

Additionally, she signifies that the “observer photographer” of the former urban pictorial traditions, removes herself socially and physically from the view, which creates a disembodied photo frame instead of a lived experience. (Datta, 2011). Referring to Hirsch, she emphasizes the photographs as an aesthetic, social and moral product of the photographer who represents the social reality (as cited in Datta, 2011). Even though they are visual and taken for imaging the present reality, they accommodate the knowledge of the observers’ ascribed meanings, also attributable to their social backgrounds, political and historical contexts (Becker, 1995, Crang 1996). Thus the query through “visual narration” is conducted by using “participant directed photography” and visual representations of their living and working places drawn by the interviewees.

Correspondingly, I asked the interviewees to attend a two-stage interview. In the first meeting, I conducted a semi-structured interview in which they talked about their past and present experiences of living and working in İstanbul. At the end of the meeting, I asked them to take photos by a disposable camera (provided by me). These photos would be of places that constitute a part of their lives in Istanbul and which they would like to discuss with me. In our second meetings we would discuss these photos and their experiences regarding them so that they could introduce their non-textual narratives of these experiences. In this way, we would be able to discuss their spaces in their own terms, using a methodological approach that is both visual and “participatory.” This also helped us introduce new places to our conversation in the second interviews that were not discussed in the former one. In addition to that, the interviewees were asked to draw sketches of their homes and working places which occupied a greater place in their daily social-spatial practices.

As a complementary element of the in-depth interviews, there are several shortcomings and distinctive contributions of participant directed photography as a qualitative research tool. Firstly I observed that taking photos increased the enthusiasm of the interviewees for expressing their lives. The act of giving a camera and a set of printed copies of their photos made them feel important and intimate throughout the research. Secondly it helped me to understand their daily practices better since the photographs revealed their personal ways of seeing and experiencing; which might not have been obvious through the interviews. Some of the specific photographs allowed me to understand what they dislike or like in the city. When I

tried to relate such images regarding their practices, expectations and observations, the interviewees were often able to respond by giving their assessments of different aspects of the city. Moreover, the photographs provided material for comparative analysis between the women and their way of living.

On the other hand, I experienced several shortcomings of this form of qualitative research. The first one is the time concern. To imprint the photos and discuss them required two or three additional appointments, which was not planned or expected at the beginning of the research. Secondly, although interviewees wanted to show their workspace, the workload and the related rules of the employer did not allow many of them to display their working environment. However, as a complementary element for research, it is crucial to notice that all of them have smart phones with the capability of taking photos. I noticed that the efficient use of photos taken by their smartphones and their display in social media is a common practice among them. Throughout the research they also wanted to show some of the photos they took in their work places and this proved to be extremely helpful. On the other hand, a complete control over the research is impossible due to the use of disposable cameras. Although the interviewees were informed about the expected use of the cameras, in some cases the interviewee's children or friends were the ones who took photos.

“Participant directed photography” with its various benefits and weaknesses, allow the interviewees (rather than the researchers) to select places or aspects of the city that they have experienced and provide permanent visual document. Those documents can be analyzed in several ways. For example they can be interpreted from an aesthetic or psychological point of view (as cited in Haywood, 1990, Kaplan 1973). On the other hand they may be used in comparative studies either within a city or among a variety of cities to understand the subjective projections and attributions of the place⁹. Moreover, their drawings of places show the extent to which their places of work and living appeal to them.

In this research, visual narrative is used to grasp the diversified subjective experiences of a particular group of women in their everyday practices.

⁹A comparative analysis of subjective projections on public space through participant directed photography: <http://urbantoychest.wordpress.com>

Consequently this research aims to serve as an input for design processes by uncovering the spatial experiences of one of the weakest and largest groups within the highly diversified populations targeted by the design processes. This research also suggests and tests a methodology for urban designers introducing above all a sensitivity to the spatial experiences of different target groups of urban design and developing a way to analyse these very experiences.

5. SOCIO-SPATIAL EXPERIENCES OF FEMALE SERVICE SECTOR WORKERS IN ISTANBUL

This chapter includes the analysis of the research. It starts with an analysis of the elements of social change in the relevant periods which have had significant implications on the daily lives of the interviewees. It then proceeds to the analysis of the spatial experiences of the interviewees in the place of production and reproduction as well as places which may be called “in between”.

Attempting to understand everyday life corresponds to excavating the concrete level of reality. Accordingly, without losing the structural frame of reference, it is intended to understand a certain group’s everyday experiences to see how the increased amount of service work, gendered space relations and the segregated city shapes the everyday in İstanbul. Thus, the female service workers are randomly selected as interviewees for the empirical analysis.

Considering the richness of the daily lives of each interviewee, the individual spatial experiences of the city are diversified according to certain levels. These levels are centrality of home, perception of inequality, capability of transformation, compression in time-space, invisibility at home and work, changing gender roles, neighbourhood as the “urban village”, enlarging spatial knowledge through daily travels, public space and social relations, changing household size, and aspirations about the space of the routine of everyday life (“the *quotidienne*”).

It should be noted that the categorization of such levels does not intend to generalize or to exclude the variety and complexity of the everyday life of individuals. Rather it is employed for the sake of empirical analysis. Geometrical space and scale based categorization is avoided; rather it is preferred to conceptualize the main themes which distinguish the individuals’ daily experiences.

Through the variations of themes, the diversified mental images of the interviewees’ will be concluded and mapped by using the drawings and photographs, which represent the lived space of the individuals.

Throughout the thesis, the interviewees will be referred to not by their names but a number assigned to them for the sake of confidentiality, such as “Int.1”, “Int.2” and so forth.

5.1 Social Change and Everyday Life

Interviews with the female service sector workers have shown that social relations and social space in which these women live are going through transformations. These transformations take place within space, which was formed in the context of previous social relations. In understanding the changes in the norms and relations that are socially constructed or taken for granted, the socio-spatial practices of the female workers represent the concrete level of such transformations.

Although it is not possible to generalize the social changes through the limited number of interviewees, changing gender roles and changing household sizes appear as the most significant socio-spatial transformations.

5.1.1 Changing gender roles

The early studies demonstrated that gender is a significant element in unequal structuring of urban space alongside with the class, race, ethnicity etc.¹⁰ As Bondi and Christie (2000) suggest social identities are created in close relation with the process of gender and it is again the same process that prolongs and/or challenges the inequalities in terms of material features; thus bringing social identities and social inequalities together under the umbrella of social practices. (Bondi, Christie, 2000). Considering this, the prior aim is to identify changing gender identities through workspaces as a crucial determinant of the change in interviewees’ daily experiences.

Cleaning service work is one of the supposedly natural attributes of femininity (docility, dexterity, caring). At workplaces, everyday social practices reaffirm or challenge these gender attributions over time. Besides, for many of the interviewees “working” has attributed meanings and practices that construct gendered subjectivities other than those that “living” or “home” have provided.

¹⁰For further readings on gender & space within the context of Turkey edited book by Ayten Alkan named “Cins Cins Mekân” would be beneficial.

Female cleaning workers are responsible both for cleaning at workspace and at the living space. However, according to the changing household sizes and types, their gender roles in the family are also changing. From this perspective, it is crucial to observe how their emotional and spatial centrality of life changes according to the changing gender roles at home and work.

5.1.1.1 Masculinity at home

Only one of the interviewees never got married and she is now living with her departed brother's family. Three of the interviewees are divorced women who have suffered from domestic violence and exploitation by their unemployed husbands. All of three are now living with their children. Their homes are not gender neutral but are saturated with gendered meanings and practices. Besides, they are now experiencing their gender role shift at home.

Because of the marriages that they have experienced and unemployed ex-husbands, three of the interviewees had to work with lowwages although they prefer to stay at home and take care of their children. On the other hand, now they assert that they like working since they cannot live without it.

Int.6: He (her husband) was not working either; I decided to work, to have an insurance. I was used to being self-sufficient and independent, paying for my own needs. Even if it is your husband, it is still a resentment to be dependent on someone. He was an unemployed, but still I married him, straightaway.¹¹

Two of them had to start working before getting divorced. Because of the unequal treatment at home, Int.5 expresses that she persisted on working to have a better quality of life since her husband was not providing for her.

Int.5: In short, there was a strong oppression in the workplace (hospital) when I first started working. How I survived from that oppression, the milestone in my life, transformation. I resisted a lot when I first started working in 2006. I had been working for 3 months when my husband beat me up, to make me quit..We were married for 9 years then. Then I recovered, and fought back..He forced me to stay at home and not go to work. But this oppression made me more resistant, I persistently kept working. I didn't accept it. He wasn't looking after me. He and his 3 brothers were all incapable of finding money for my son's operation,

¹¹Int.6: Bu(eşi) da çalışmıyordu, hadi ben çalışayım bari sigortam olsun diye. Çünkü alışmışım kendi ayaklarım üstünde durmaya, kendi paramı yemeye. Ne kadar da eşin olsa insana zor geliyor, olmuyor. Çalışmayan bir erkekti, gözü kapalı evlendim.

they were helpless. It wasn't a great amount but they couldn't find it themselves. Therefore, I insisted on working and continued my work.¹²

The same two were also involved in the protests for the job cuts caused by the subcontractors' unequal and unjust treatments. Thus, they both see their experience and struggle as a reason of the change in their life. In addition, both of them experienced the shift in gender roles after they started to work as well. By the time, they become economically independent and masculinized, their husbands become demasclunized.

Int.5: But the last incident, I decided to divorce him, I just couldn't make it happen. We discussed. We needed tea and sugar at home. I don't understand why he goes to coffeeshouse on my free day. I told him to make tea so that we can have breakfast together. He boiled the water but then turned it off because there was no tea at home. I told him that if he was a real man, he could be at home and get the kitchen needs. But he seemed too offended so I had to laugh that off and said "you prepare the breakfast and I will go and get some tea honey" (she laughs).¹³

Although Int.5's spatial and emotional centrality shifts from home to workplace her home based femininity still continues with a lower degree.

Int.5: I took this picture (Figure 5.1) to show you how my home looks like when I get back from work. It really looks like this, which makes me furious. This is even taken after I tidy up a bit..because I remembered to take the picture of it when I was almost done with it. I took it because doing housework really kills me when I am already exhausted after work. I say to myself that maybe I am really nervous. It was the weekend, they were at home that day. As you see in the picture, the house was this messy when I got back home from work.¹⁴

¹²Int.5: Kısacası çalıştığım yerde(hastane), baskı ilk başlarda çok vardı. O baskıdan nasıl kurtulduğumuz, hayatımın dönüm noktası yani değişim benim için. 2006'da işe başladıktan sonra ben çok inatlaştım. 9 yıllık evliliğimde 3 aylık işçiydim, beni dövdü eşim işten çıkayım diye... Ondan sonra kendime gelince o bana ben ona vurduk. Sonra işte "yok, işe gitmeyeceksin" falan... Yani bu saatten sonra gitmezlik olur mu? Aksine tam tersine, inadına gittim o böyle yaptıktan sonra. Öyle bi şey yok, sen bana bakmıyorsun sahip çıkmıyorsun. Çocuğumun geniz eti ameliyatı olması lazım 4 erkek(eşi ve kayınları) ne hikmetse para bulamıyor. Bakınca çok bi para değil de hani.. Bunun için inat ettim devam ettim

¹³Int.5: Ama en sonraki olay, ben ayrılmaya kara vermiştim ama uygulamaya geçiremiyordum. Tartıştık, çay şeker lazım. Kahvede ne işin var benim izinli günümde. Çay koy kahvaltı yapalım dedim. Koymuş, çay şeker yok diye çayı kapatmış. Erkek olsan alırdın, evde şeker olurdu dedim. Ama çok gücüne gidince şakaya vurdum. Sen otur kahvaltüyü hazırla ben alırım karıcım dedim (gülüyor).

¹⁴Int.5: Bu fotoğrafı işten geldikten sonra evimin ne halde olduğunu görmeniz için çektim. Gerçekten böyle nevrİM dönmüş oluyor. Bu biraz toplanmış hali, son dakika aklıma geldi. O yüzden çektim yani gerçekten, bir de yorgunken evle uğraşmak beni öldürüyor. Psikolojik olarak pek iyi değilim demek ki diyorum. Hafta sonuydu o gün evdelerdi. Hafta sonu cumartesi işten geldiğimde ev bu hale gelmişti.



Figure 5.1 : Int.5, How my home looks like when I get back from work.

Higher workload has driven them apart from home and home attributed social practices. This also shifted the emotional and socio-spatial centrality of life from home to workplace.

Int.5: After that, it is the end of the work day. I come back home in a rush, then tidy up the house. I have two sons, boys are like monsters. They turn the house into a mess. Sometimes I feel like fainting and want to do nothing. I go and sleep.¹⁵

Although it is not a novel concept it is observed that the priority of the wage work is emphasized while housework is devalued. Thus the economic freedom of the woman brought ‘home based masculinity’ and ‘work based femininity’ since the space of social interaction was at work place.

Int.5: Being the mother of two boys, especially when you are working is terribly difficult. I would prefer to have a husband who works full time, looks after us and takes care of his children..but of course a neat and settled house environment.. I would prefer to have a caring, hardworking husband..but I have to work..If I didn't have to work, I could stay at home and look after my kids and do some other useful activities as well. I am a

¹⁵Int.5: Ondan sonra zaten paydos saati geliyor. Sonra koştur koştur eve gel, evi toparla. 2 tane çocuğun var. Erkek çocuğu canavar gibi... Bir bakmışsın ev pislik içinde bazen başım dönüyor hiçbir şey yapmak istemiyorum, yatıyorum.

*religious person. I would like to worship in regular basis... I wish we could be like those normal, standard families.*¹⁶

Similarly, Int.3 asserts that she is not feeling like “woman” anymore. The oppression of the workload even changes the habits and ways of dressing in the everyday out of the workplace.

*Int.3: I don't feel like a woman anymore, I don't even remember the last time I wore a skirt.*¹⁷

On the other hand, Int. 7 remarks that the duties of the mother is shared with the grandparents, which makes her feel she is not able to take care of her children anymore.

*Int.7: Trouble finds you wherever you escape. Witnessing everything here is really sad. A tiny problem affects all of us here. If my house was a bit further, I wouldn't work in here. Sustaining a decent living is hard. We wouldn't be able to survive without my mother. She helped us a lot in hard days. Being a mother is sacrificing your life... Not being a father but being a mother. But I'm not able to be a mother to my children, you see, I don't even know when my son comes home from school.*¹⁸

On the other hand, I observed that sharing, or leading the provision of income for the household makes the interviewees feel stronger. However, when I ask Int.1 how she feels about that issue, she responds as,

Int.1: I don't feel strong enough. I work and leave home at 8 am with my husband. I came back home from work at 6:30 pm. My husband trusts me during my working hours, but when I want an hour after work, just for myself, it is out of question. Is it that hard? Maybe I just want to have a cup of coffee with you (interviewer) after work, but I am not free. I am free when I work, when I come home, do housework, look after the kids, serving guests.. But why can't I have only 1-2 hours of the 24 hours of a day for myself, is it too much, is it too hard? Is it something like asking for bank credits? I mean is it something that I have to pay for?

¹⁶Int.5: İki tane erkek çocuğuyla anne olmak hem de çalışırken gerçekten çok zor. Ben tam olarak çalışıp her şeye koşturan ama çocukları ile de ilgilenen bir eşim olsun isterdim. Ama tabi düzenli bir ev hayatı... Düzenli çalışan, çocuklarla ilgilenen bir eşim olmasını isterdim ama işte çalışmak zorundayım. Çalışmak zorunda olmasaydım, eşim çalışsın ben evde çocuklarımla ilgilenip gene böyle işe yarayan bazı faaliyetlerde bulunabilirdim... Dinime düşgünüm, düzenli namazımı kılayım ibadetimi yapayım isterim. Normal standart aileler gibi yaşamayı isterdim.

¹⁷Int.3: Kadınlığımız mı kaldı en son ne zaman etek giydiğimi bile hatırlamıyorum.

¹⁸Int.7: Dert nereye gitsen seni bulur. Herşeyi görmek de fena. Ufacık rahatsızlık hepimizi etkiliyor burda. Uzak olsam burden, çalışmazdım. Geçim çok zor. Annem olmasa yapamazdık. Yokluğumuzu annem var etti. “Dağda ayı ol ana olma” demişler. Bizde baba değil annedir işte her şey. Ama işte ben çocuklarıma annelik yapamıyorum. Çocuğumun kaçta okuldan eve geldiğinden bile haberim yok baksana...

Unfortunately, Turkish woman, especially if she is illiterate, uneducated and dependent on her husband, she is not free.¹⁹

The way she questions her free time, for herself, as a matter of exchange represents that she assumed herself as “free” only when she is working. In addition to that, the money she earns does not make her feel free from the private patriarchy. However, she points that, although she is complaining about the patriarchy and its oppression, she (the woman) is the one who constructs it.

Int.1: But I am still not free, because this is my husband's mentality: after work, a woman's place is her home, she has nothing to do outside, if she needs to go somewhere she has to do it with her husband. I don't have to spend all my time with him, but I can't say this to him. I am scared that he will misunderstand, he will question my love, faith and honesty. He will start asking if I see someone else...I don't understand it. Do I have to carry someone with me like a handbag wherever I go? Can't I, with my free will, go to seaside after work, lie down, have a beer, smoke a cigarette and spend an hour on my own? That's why we are not independent. I think 80% of Turkish women are like this, either a professor or a doctor. That's because of women again, those women that raised those men as their mother. I also raise my boy as his father. I complain but I still turn my son (Berhan) into a man like his father (Erhan). My son's name is Berhan (she laughs). That's why we are never capable of being independent.²⁰

On the other hand Int.7 thinks that her work lets her free from the home and family related problems therefore the workplace has become a substitute for her.

Int.7: But still I am never tired of serving, I do it with enthusiasm. I used to like it more, of course. It was better then. I used to forget about all troubles at home or

¹⁹Int.1: Güçlü Hissetmiyorum. Ben şimdi işe geliyorum. İşe giderken saat 8:00'de eşim benle çıktı. Ben eve girince saat 18:30, o vakte kadar benim işte olduğumu biliyorsun bana güveniyorsun. 18:30'dan sonra benim canım bugün eve gelmek istemedi, atıyorum seninle kahve içmek istedim... Yok.. Niye, çünkü ben özgür değilim... Ama işe giderken ben işte çalışıyorum, evde çocuklarıma annelik yapıyorum, misafir gelince hizmetçilik yapıyorum. Yani niye bir 24 saatin 1 ya da 2 saati bana ait olmasın ben bunu isterken çok şey mi istiyorum, yani çok zor şey mi? Bunu almak istiyorum da bankalar kredi mi vermiyor. Yani parayla satılan bi şey mi? Ama maalesef, Türk kadını hele de kadın okumamışsa cahilse, kadının evini erkek besliyorsa kadın özgür değil.

²⁰Int.1: Ama gene de özgür değilim. Çünkü benim eşimin kapasitesi o, çünkü “işten çıktıktan sonra bir kadının dışarda işi olmaz”, “gideceğin yer varsa beraber gideriz”. Canım ben her seferinde senle vakit geçirmek zorunda değilim ama ben içten gelip de Eren ya ben senle zaman geçirmek istemiyorum diyemiyorum dediğim zaman kavga çıkacak, bu sefer diyecek “niye bıktın mı benden?”. “Başka birisi mi var hayatında, kiminle gideceksin yemeğe?” Ya illa şimdi ben bi yere giderken illa yanımda çanta gibi birinin mi olması lazım? Ben kendim özgür canım ne istiyo işten çıktım, sahile gidip ayağımı uzatıp yere hatta sandalye de olmasın bi sigara yakıp yanıma iki çekirdek çitalayıp ya da bir bira alıp bir saat falan geçiremez miyim? İşte özgür değiliz. Bence Türk kadını yüzde 80'i bu hocası olsun doktoru olsun? Çünkü niye yetiştiren biziz evlatları erkek evlatları yetiştiren birer anne. Ben de babası gibi yetiştiriyorum oğlumu. Hem şikâyet ediyorum hem Erhan gibi bir Berhan yetiştiriyorum. Adı Berhan oğlunun (gülüyor). O yüzden özgür olamıyoruz, her zaman kısıtlı.

around me when I worked. Now it is a pain going to work, because of the problems there.²¹

5.1.1.2 Femininity at work: “Woman’s Touch”

By the increased time spent in production and decreased time spent on reproductive practices (childcare and home maintenance based practices) the women’s gender identities are confined at workspaces where the feminine social practices are embodied.

Int.8 is working as a housekeeper at one of the most luxurious residences in Istanbul. She expresses that the treatment of the managers and the chief workers are very kind. Even when she is less occupied they do not command her to clean the corridors rather they ask her to “check the corridors to put her woman’s touch” in her work.

Int.8: If they see me unoccupied, they know that I won’t be floating around... But they kindly ask me to check the C tower, and tell “It’s better if you put your woman’s touch Mrs. Y.(Int.8)”²²

On the other hand, Int.5 feels stagnant and ineffective if she does not work and stays at home. She sees working in productive activities as much more valuable than practices based on house and household maintenance.

Int.5: I know that as long as I continue working, I will stay healthy, because staying home does no good for me. However, non-stop working is also not good. I need to do parallel activities at work to feel like I am helpful to people. Then I feel valuable. I donot mean, socializing with people, chatting about nonsense or going to the cinema etc. That’s okay, sometimes one needs these kinds of socializing as well, but I mean being useful at the end. When I don’t have that satisfaction, I lose my energy and motivation. I just can’t name it at first but then I realize why.²³

In addition, she sees cleaning as a crucial profession, which is not necessarily related to her house but work for public benefit.

²¹Int.7: Ama gene de işimden, hizmet etmekten hiç yorulmuyorum, çok severek yapıyorum. Eskiden daha çok seviyordum tabii, o zamanlar daha güzeldi. Evdeki, çevremdeki bütün dertleri unuttuyordum çalışırken. Şimdi işe gitmek eziyet oluyor işteki sıkıntı yüzünden.

²²Int.8: Yani beni işim yokken gördüklerinde, öyle ortalarda çok dolaşmayacağımı biliyorlar zaten... Ama bana gelip kibarca, Y. Hanım C kuleyi kontrol ediverin, bir “bayan eli değsin”, diyorlar.

²³Int.5: Ben çalıştığım sürece iyi olacağımı biliyorum çünkü evde oturmak bana iyi gelmiyor. Sadece çalışmak da iyi gelmiyor. Çalışmanın yanı sıra, işte.. belirli bir faaliyetlerde bulunmam lazım. İnsanlar için gerçekten bir işe yaradığımı hissetmem lazım. O zaman iyi geliyor. Bir araya gelip de boş boş zaman geçiriyorum, işte, sinemaya gidiyorum falan bu değil yani. Tamam ara sıra yapılır zaten ama gittin mi bir işe yaradığımı hissetmem gerekiyor. Onu hissetmediğim zaman modum düşüyor farkında olmuyorum ama neden kendimi iyi hissetmediğimi anlayamıyorum. Sonradan farkediyorum.

Int.5: Actually, it is really beautiful. When I help people I feel useful. I mean, I really respect the work I am doing. I think not everyone could be able to do what I do. Really there are many things that people can't see. Cleaning looks like an easy task, but actually it is not. It is really a very serious business. I do it with pride. I feel like I improve myself day by day and become a professional. I don't think everyone does it properly. They don't pay attention to what they do.²⁴

5.1.2 Changing household size

This section provides a general view about the changes in family formation and household structures of the female service workers. Considering the general changes of family formations and sizes in Turkey, the interviewees' households represent similar transformations. Among the eight interviewees, three of them are divorced, one of them is unmarried, and four of them are married. Although this small sample is not enough to generalize the changes in the family structure, it gives an idea about the increasing number of single-parent families and marital separations, and decreasing number of marriages. On the other hand, we can say that, not only the way their families are shaped but also their perceptions about the "family" are changing.

Int.3: I have been in İstanbul for 10 years. Now you are talking to me in this state. I was different 2 years ago, more anxious 7 years ago, in a lousy depressive state 8-9 years ago. It is all gone now. I have left that struggle behind. I was married for 19 years and I had a divorce. It was a long time but believe me I do not remember anything. When someone talks about their marriage, it recalls nothing but a word. Like I have watched a movie... But I got this a year ago, thanks to my job. The imagery here, what it taught me, the life struggle of those around me made me forget everything. I used to live with my husband on the seafront in a 200 m2 flat. But what good is it. My husband was careless, did not work... He had a daughter, a son, a ravishing wife but it just did not work. I lived with my in-laws for 19 years. I was their bride for 19 years, I could not lie on the couch and watch TV with my husband, prepare tea for him, live my marriage. What does a woman want in a marriage: it is a something I never got to experience. To greet my husband at the door, to cook meals, to prepare the table... I see everything here now, how it is done, for instance to put black sesame on it when

²⁴Int.5: Aslında çok güzel. İnsanlara yardım ettiğin zamanlarda bir işe yaradığını hissediyorsun. Ne biliyim ben gerçekten yaptığım işe çok saygı duyuyorum. Herkesin yapabileceğini düşünmüyorum. Gerçekten bizim insanların göremediği çok şeyler var. Bu temizlik basit bir şey gibi ama değil. Gerçekten çok ciddi. Gururla yapıyorum ve gün geçtikçe profesyonel anlamda yaptığımı düşünüyorum ve herkesin de hakkını vererek yapamadığını düşünüyorum. Çok özen göstermiyor da çoğu insan.

*serving cheese. I see and know these now but I have no environment to do them, and there is no meaning.*²⁵

For Int.3, her workplace is an explicit determinant of her new life after the divorce. In fact, marriage and her life with her husband became one of the memories that she wanted to forget. She expresses that the practices she learned from the workplace are beneficial for the homemaker to serve at home, while they are now meaningless for her. Moreover, she thinks that the hardships of life empower women to forget their past memories at home, she also thinks that the hardships of life are external for the “housewives”.

*Int.3: In breakfast yesterday one of the married men said “when I am back home in the evening my child is more cheerful and is interested more in me and avoids his mother because she beats him when I am not home.” And I think, she is already a housewife. Why does she beat her child, why does she scold him? Just raise your kid with love, why should you beat a 5-year-old kid? So she just scolds him her own way, since she does not know the real stress of working, the real misery of life...*²⁶

Consequently, it is common to all divorced interviewees that marrying an unemployed husband is an impoverishing factor for a woman who has to stand alone with her children.

Int.6: He did not use to work, I married him blindly. I would not marry him if I knew then what I know now, many bad memories have piled up. Our marriage officially continues now but we do not live together. I live with my kids, mother and sisters. My husband asked for a last chance but I do not care much, neither can I trust him. If I just say I forgive him and return home, I cannot ever return to my mother’s house. I am trying to stand on my own feet now. The only good side to marriage is that I have

²⁵Int.3: Ben 10 yıldır İstanbul’dayım. Sen benim şu halimle konuşuyorsun. 2 sene önce başka 7 yıl önce daha gergin, 8-9 yıl önce berbat depresif bi halde olacaktım. Bitti. Onların mücadelesini çok geride bıraktım. 19 yıl evli kaldım ve boşandım. Çok uzun süre ama hiç hatırlamıyorum inan. Birisi evliliğinden bahsettiğinde bana sadece bi kelime çağırıyor. Film izlemişim gibi... Ama onu da son bi seneye kadar işim sayesinde anca yakaladım. Buranın görselliği, öğrettikleri, çevremdekilerin hayat mücadelesi bana her şeyi unutturdu. 200 m² denize nazır bi evde oturuyordum eşimle. Ama neye yarar. Eşim çok gamsızdı, çalışmıyordu... Bir kızı, bir oğlu, fıstık gibi de karısı vardı ama olmadı işte. 19 yıl kayınvalidemle yaşadım. 19 yıl ona gelinlik yaptım. Ben eşimle bi çek-yata uzanıp da televizyon izlemedim ya da oturup da şöyle bi çay demleyemedim, evliliği yaşamadım. Bi kadın ne ister ki evlilikte, içimde uktedir... Eşim olsa da kapıda karşılasam, yemek hazırlasam, sofraya kursam... Şimdi burda görüyorum her şeyi, neler yapılır diye, mesela bi peyniri servis ederken üstüne bi çörek out koy. Bunları şimdi görüyorum biliyorum ama yapacak ortamım yok, anlamı da yok.

²⁶Int.3: Dün sabah kahvaltıda evli erkeğin bir tanesi “akşam eve gittiğim zaman çocuğum daha güler yüzlü oluyor daha çok benimle ilgilenmek istiyor, annesinden kaçıyor çünkü annesi evde ben yokken onu dövüyor” dedi. Ya diyorum kadın zaten ev kadını. Niye çocuğunu dövüyor niye azarlıyor? Ben şimdi düşündüğün zaman “çocuğunu sevgiyle büyüt niye 5 yaşındaki çocuğu dövesin” diyorum. Esas çalışma stresini, hayatın kötülüğünü görmeyince çocuğa kafasına göre kızıyor demek ki...

*kids. I do not dream about my kids getting married at all, it is enough if they can just stand on their own feet. I will not be with them when they grow up for I will pack my things and go back to my hometown.*²⁷

However, the idea of marrying someone represents the way out from the patriarchy within the family. Similarly, in Int.5's case, she marries to escape the oppression in the family. However, in marriage for that she experiences a much more compelling struggle.

*Int.5: After I was married I thought about leaving for some time but you cannot stand on your own feet. You do not want to go back to your parents... It was all to get away from my parents anyway. In fact, from my mother and my deceased older brother. He used to beat me all the time... I do not know, I think I have had enough. The reason for the break-up was the last straw of my husband. He always said he was going to work this time, and asked for a last chance. I sent him to the ship and he said "I will go." Lots of stuff. I tried to make a contract to intimidate him and let him know I could get divorced in a single hearing. Our older sisters said "let us all get divorced and live in a flat and do something together." They used to say we did not have any other chance. I said I would not leave my husband no matter what. Love had died but I pitied him.*²⁸

As specified in the surveys²⁹ the nuclear families are tending to transform into sole-parent families. This is also observed in the interviewees' experience of marriage as a struggle of living and working in İstanbul. In addition to that, how their everyday practices are adapted or transformed/resisted to the new formations of social conditions would be the question of the successive chapters.

²⁷Int.6: Çalışmayan bir adamdı, gözü kara evlendim, bilseydim evlenmezdim. Bir sürü kötü anı...Şu an evliliğimiz resmi olarak sürüyor ama birlikte yaşamıyoruz. Annemlerde kız kardeşlerim ve çocuklarım ile birlikte yaşıyorum. Bana son bir şans sordu ama pek sallamıyorum. Güvenmiyorum ki... Eğer affedip de eve geri dönersem tekrar annemin evine geri dönemem. Kendi ayaklarımın üstünde durmaya çalışıyorum şimdi. Evliliğin tek güzel yanı çocuklar... Çocuklarıma diyorum, yani pek evlendiklerini hayal etmiyorum ama kendi ayaklarının üstünde dursunlar yeter. Çünkü ben onlar büyüdüğünde yanlarında olmayacağım, pılımı pırtımı toplayıp memlekete gideceğim.

²⁸Int.5: Ben evlendikten bir süre sonra hep ayrılmayı istedim ama ayaklarının üstünde duramıyorsun. Ailenin yanına hiç dönmek istemiyorsun... Hep zaten ailemden kurtulmak için... Yani aslında annemden ve rahmetli büyük abimden kurtulmak için. Beni hep dövüyordu büyük abim... Ne bileyim artık yoruldu. Ayrılma sebebi de eşimin bardağı taşıran son damlası oldu. Her seferinde "bu sefer çalışacağım son bir şans ver" diyordu. İşte gemiye yolladım "gidecem" dedi. Bir sürü şeyler. Sözleşme yapmaya kalkıştım göz dağı verip bir celsede boşanabileceğimi bilsin diye. Ablalarım "hepimiz boşanıp bir evde oturalım birlikte bi şeyler yapalım, şansımız yok hiç birimizin" diyordu. Ne olursa olsun bırakmam eşimi diyordum. Sevgisi bitmişti ama çok acıyordum

²⁹<http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/47701118.pdf>

5.2 Spaces of Production

As Lefebvre and Harvey noted, the routine of professional activity limits the vision to see what people do really want and need, how we behave and possess or share. Thus, questioning the interviewees' experiences at the workplace and perceptions of socio-spatial inequalities caused by the workspace are significant in understanding how their socio-spatial practices, desires and needs are shaped and limited by the processes and relations of production.

All of the interviewees live in deprived neighborhoods constrained by their families' socio-economical background or their wages between 1000-1200 TL. Considering their living places and the conditions of cleaning work, their work places are the places of inevitable everyday encounters of class differences and inequalities. Although their work activity and workload is diverse based on the places they work at, the socio-economic position of the customers could be generalized as the upper-middle or upper class status. Besides all of the interviewees are living in the former "gecekondu" areas most of which are now transformed into the apartment-building neighborhoods with a low quality infrastructure. Hence, this conflicting duality of living and working environments highly affects the perception of inequality and class-consciousness in interviewees' daily life.

On the other hand, urban designers and architects generally tend to be concerned about how the built environment is used by its inhabitants. Besides, the researches focus on how public space is produced and reproduced by its users seeking for the way it is being used, the form of relationships within that place and how the physical form of space reflected on them in consideration with the encounters of different social groups and classes. While the image, representations, perceptions and practices of the public space is being questioned the attitude of the urbanist and the researcher points to a crucial gap within the urban exploration; the invisibility of the workers who are the realizers of capital accumulation in space and their perception of inequality. Therefore in this chapter from a standpoint of female service workers, the reasons and conditions of the perception of inequality and invisibility will be analyzed in order to understand the reality which constructs the everyday life at the workspace.

5.2.1 Class encounters and invisibility of the worker

The way the workers who serve in the maintenance of their workplace and interact within the designed environment is often omitted from the outlook of the researcher. This actually signifies the alienation of the service work (especially the cleaning workers) within the places of global capitalism.

Marx (2009) has theorized the alienation as the workers becoming alienated to their labor at the factory under the rule of a mass-producing industry. The workers are distanced and separated from their product. Considering the fact that service work consists of a production process within the place where labor is realized, service work deepens the alienation in urban space.

Within this relational context, places of consumption which can be exemplified as shopping malls, hotels, hospitals and museums are not only produced and reproduced through its supposedly consumers but also by its workers and their practices. In result, the invisibility of the service work cannot be limited to the invisible domestic work of women at home. Their work to serve for urbanites, becomes invisible. As Coyle states that, women cleaner workers share the most hidden and neglected part within the workforce (Coyle,1985). Consequently, the female service workers experience a double burden of invisibility.

Moreover, if we think about such places as the areas of class encounters, the relationships of the workers and the consumers are positioned and structured among the institutional rules and regulations of the managers and subcontract firms. In result the thing that makes them coexist is not the shared and conflicting experiences or values but the taken for granted norms and practices of class. By looking at an apartment block and the relationships between the caretaker family and the landlord families, Necmi Erdoğan (2010) asserts the class as a collective crime, which will dissolve the ties between the inhabitants if such a hidden sin, came into words³⁰(Erdoğan, 2010, p:10). Similarly, the collectivity of hiding the service work reveals a significant loss of defined norms and practices, which are assigned to public space(Thomas,1991). Within the context of production relations of global

³⁰Necmi Erdoğan's writings on class encounters in Birgün (newspaper) in 2010 <http://istifhane.files.wordpress.com/2012/09/sinif-karsilasmalari.pdf>

capitalism, “invisibility” reveals the fact that public space is misplacing its component of enabling encounters.

Thus in order to understand to what extent the labor and the product are invisible and the possible forms of differential relations exist in their workspace, the interviewees are questioned to express their feelings and experiences at the workplace.

Apparently, in the field study, I observed that there are four main variables, which determine the formation of the conditions and the relationships at the workplace. First, type of the employer is the initial determinant (either if it is a subcontractor or the primary employer-the range of precarity/insecurity). The second one is the type and socio-economic position of the customer they serve for, third one is the motivation and the function of the service (either for public goods and services or consumption goods), fourth one is the work place and whom it belongs to (government or private corporation), and finally gender. Such attributes directly configure the range of exploitation, as well as the oppression and time space compression and in result shape daily practices and spatial experiences.

5.2.1.1 Professionalizing cleaning work

According to Herod and Aguiar(2006) the cleaning work is being transformed through the intensification in employment and the reductions in the wages. On the other hand, there are some other determinants affecting the cleaning work. According to the authors, the considerable recent move to “professionalize” the work can be evaluated as a move to “unskilled” labour. In addition to that, the authors assert the factors affecting the professionalization as the effort of subcontractors to gain in the market competition and international standards affirmed by the trans-nationalization of the cleaning capital. In addition to that, the demand for authenticity to ensure that the client gets a “real” cleaning company, and the required ability of the worker to operate the new equipment introduced through the intensification of the cleaning work are also crucial (Herod&Aguiar, 2006).

Indeed, “professionalization” plays a significant role in interviewees’ understanding of the cleaning work. Many really like their work not only because of the lack of job alternatives but also they see cleaning as a professional and crucial service.

Int.5: It is actually very beautiful. You feel useful when you help people. I do not know, I really respect the work I am doing. I do not think everyone

*is capable of doing it. There is really a lot our folks cannot see. Cleaning looks like a simple thing but it is not. It is serious. I do my work with pride and think I am doing it more professionally day by day and not everyone can do justice to this job. Many people do not really care much.*³¹

Moreover, the professionalism applied through the standards and reliability of the subcontractor brings certain limitations on the costumes, behaviors, certain uses of equipment, and allowed/prohibited places within the workplace, which many of the interviewees are not bothered. Although such mechanisms of control through the professionalization are not special to the cleaning work, they become the dominant factors, which shape social relations and practices, in result, shape the workspace.

*Int.8: Apart from that, you cannot wear anything other than our work clothes and black shoes. You cannot wear too many colorful jewelry. You cannot let your hair free but since you are doing cleaning this is not helpful anyway, and why should you be told off because some of your hair fell into the work you are doing? I always tie my hair up anyway. What I mean is, there are not many “don’t do this” or “don’t do that”s. They do not bother us much.*³²

Furthermore, there appears competition among the cleaning workers through “the employee of the month” campaigns.

*Int.4: When I used to work, being the employee of the month was so important for me that I probably would not feel that happy if I became the manager or the director. I had my mind set on it. There was this big machine when I worked in manufacturing. I aspired to learning it. I am a fighter; I would go there at 8 o’clock in the morning just to study it. Now I have my mind set on the cleaning cars they use for cleaning the corridors – I want to master them, I am determined.*³³

³¹Int.5: Aslında çok güzel. İnsanlara yardım ettiğin zamanlarda bir işe yaradığını hissediyorsun. Ne bileyim, ben gerçekten yaptığım işe çok saygı duyuyorum. Herkesin yapabileceğini düşünmüyorum. Gerçekten bizim insanların göremediği çok şeyler var. Bu temizlik basit bir şey gibi ama değil. Gerçekten çok ciddi. Gururla yapıyorum ve gün geçtikçe profesyonel anlamda yaptığımı düşünüyorum ve herkesin de hakkını vererek yapamadığını düşünüyorum. Çok özen göstermiyor da çoğu insan.

³²Int.8: Onun haricinde, kendi iş elbiselerimiz ve siyah ayakkabı dışında bir şey giyemiyorsun görünüş bakımından. Çok fazla renkli takılar takamıyorsun. Saçını açık bırakamıyorsun ki zaten temizlik yaptığın için hem kolay olmuyor hem de yaptığın işte niye saçın düşsün de bir ton laf yiyessin ki. Ben kendimi bildim bileli zaten saçımı toplarım. Yani çok fazla şey yok onu yapma bunu yapma diye. Sıkıyorlar bizi.

³³Int.4: Çalışırken ayın elemanı olmak benim için o kadar önemliydi ki, şef olsam, müdür olsam o kadar sevinmem. Ben onu kafama koymuşum. Konfeksiyonda çalışırken büyük bir makine vardı. Ona heveslenirdim. Mücadeleci bir insanım; sırf o makineyi öğrenmek için sabah 8:00’de giderdim. Şimdi koridorların temizlendiği arabaları kafama koydum - öğrenmek istiyorum, kararlıyım.

Besides, all of them appreciate the cleaning work. As a profession, they think that there is nothing to be ashamed. They put their labor and time and as a result, they gain (Figure 5.2).

Int.6: I am not ashamed of cleaning because I make an honest living to look after my children.³⁴



Figure 5.2 : Int.1, Toilets at the workplace.

Int.1: This is one of the toilets I clean. I clean it by the sweat of my brow. Thank God, I have more or less a good job. I make an honest living, with dignity and honor. It is not as comfortable as everyone else's is but I am not used to too much money anyway.³⁵

Successively when I asked about her wage and work conditions, she complains about her low wage.

Int.1: I work here from eight in the morning until five in the evening. I am a contract worker. I do not have the luxury of food and transport expenses, I cover these myself. I do not pay the two TL and occasionally do not go to lunch. My salary is 800 TL. Is this what the contract worker deserves? I am up on my feet all day until the evening. Believe me, I put my feet in salted water yesterday, I used two pillows to comfort my feet

³⁴Int.6: Temizlikten gücenmiyorum, çünkü helalimle çalışıyorum, çocuklarıma helalimle bakıyorum.

³⁵Int 1: Burası benim temizlediğim tuvaletlerden biri. Alnımın teriyle temizliyorum. Çok şükür, ama iyi ama kötü bir işimiz var. Namusumla şerefimle kazanıyorum. Herkesinki gibi rahat değil ama zaten ben çok paraya alışık değilim.

when I lay down. Yesterday I worked with my feet aching; I finished doing the house like that. These are my complaints to the state; instead of having all for themselves, they must think a little about the contract workers who have nothing. True, I own a house, I do not pay rent, and thankGod, I can stand on my own feet. Just imagine I paid rent: 600 TL rent, two kids, monthly bills of about 450 TL, just with a salary of 800 TL; how in the world are these people going to make a living?³⁶

However, although working makes some of them feel useful, it also forces them to feel insufficient.

Int.5: And this photo (Figure 5.3) is the exterior view of my workplace. When I entered the hospital for the first time I thought, “Where am I working”, “how will I find it when I come again?” This is the place I thought this. I was not aware of where I entered to or from. Anyway, now I feel a kind of relief when I enter the hospital.



Figure 5.3 : Int.5, Looking at the workplace.

³⁶Int 1: Burada sabah 8:00 akşam 5:00 çalışmaktayım. Ben taşeron işçisiyim. Benim yol yemek gibi bir lüksüm yok, bunları ben cebimden karşılıyorum. Ben iki lira vermeyip yerine göre yemeğe gitmiyorum. 800 lira maaş alıyorum. Taşeron işçisi bunu mu hak ediyor? Bütün gün akşama kadar ayaktayım. İnanın dün ayağımı tuzlu suya soktum, yatarken ayağıma iki tane yastık koyup öyle yattım. Dün ayaklarımın altı sızladı o şekilde çalıştım, o şekilde yaptım evimi. Devlete şikâyetim bunlar; kendisi yiyeceğine biraz da hiçbir şeyi olmayan taşeron işçilerini düşünsün. Tamam, benim evim var, kira ödemiyorum, Allah’a çok şükür kendi yağımınla kavruluyorum. Düşünün bir de kira ödediğimi: 800 lira maaşla 600 kira, iki çocuk, 450 lira aylık fatura; nasıl geçinecek bu insanlar?

Int.5 (cont.): Not like a “God – here I am again”. I just have some sleepiness in the morning, and that is all. Otherwise, I like going to work. I would like it even more if I did not have these aches and health problems. I would really be more useful in work if I were as energetic as before. Because I cannot stop, and since the aches got worse I have been ignoring some things. I see a lot, for example, I constantly see the bottoms of some walls.³⁷

The professionalization is not only the result of the rules and regulations of the standard service but the customers cause them burden by making them feel they do not deserve what they earn and are insufficient. I have observed this situation generally at the work places of private corporations, which serve for higher income customers. Int.8, who works at one of the recently constructed residences in İstanbul expresses her experience with a customer and her managers as follows:

Int.8: This is what happened that day. After this, the woman e-mailed the managers. She was angry with me that day because of that spot. She said, “You are sending over incompetent people who know nothing about the job; this girl is not to blame, you have sent her.” (She laughs) She was angry with herself, though. I felt offended that day. In addition, there is a tip involved. She had tipped me that day as well. I did not spend that tip that day. I could not. I did not even want to touch the money. Because I do the other flat as well and there is no problem with it. We went downstairs. I told my supervisor the case, and he said, “Let’s hope this does not cause any trouble.” Just as he said this, an e-mail came. The managers had a meeting. This is important because whatever the case there are millions of dollars involved in this job. You cannot tell her she is mistaken even when she actually is. Then we had a talk with the manager, I said, “I have done what I do on the other storeys, if there is something to be done to make it cleaner, teach me and I will do it. After all I do what you show me, I do not play it by ear.” Thank God, they too said there was no problem, and that woman did this all the time. After the whole thing now when I mop a floor, I do it one more time just to not be told off like that again. It is okay if they tell me to mop it five times, as long as I am not told off. After all, I am not one to make mistakes easily.³⁸

³⁷Int.5: Bu resim de çalıştığım iş yerinin dışardan görüntüsü. Hastaneye ilk girdiğimde “nerede çalışıyorum”, “tekrar geldiğimde nasıl bulurum” diye düşünmüştüm. Bunu düşündüğüm yer. Nereden nereye girdiğimin farkında değildim. Neyse artık hastaneye girdiğim zaman ferahlama gibi bir şey hissediyorum. Hani “öf işe geliyorum” değil de. Sadece sabahları bir uyku mahmurluğu oluyor bende o kadar. Yoksa işe gitmeyi seviyorum. Sağlık sorunlarım ve bu ağrılarım olmasa daha çok seveceğim. Eskisi gibi daha enerjik olsam gerçekten daha çok kullanılabileceğim iş ortamında. Çünkü duramıyorum, ama artık ağrılarım çok arttığı için bazı şeyleri görmezden geliyorum. Çok şey görüyorum, işte bazı duvar diplerini görüyorum sürekli.

³⁸Int. 8: Bir kere sorun yaşadık o da şöyle oldu: Evi tozuyla banyosuyla komple sildik, temizledik. Çok titiz bir bayan. Herkes çıktı en son ben ve bir arkadaş kaldık. Yerleri silip çıkıyoruz. Bizden önce inşaat pisliğini temizlemeye giren başka bir firma oluyor. Onlar rezidansın ekibi değil. Kabasını alıyor. Onlardan sonra biz eğer daire sahibi isterse giriyoruz. En son parkede eşyaları taşıırken mi ya

On the other hand, not only their emotions and perceptions are driven to be homogenized through the standard conception of working through a process of precarization at work, but also their practices at the workplace also becomes precarious. When I asked Int.1 if she visits the park next to the university at her breaks, she responses as:

Int.1: The park is very beautiful, we do not go in but we sometimes sit in front of it when we wait for the shuttle. But if you ask if we go there... we rarely do. If we go there, they will say "she is wandering around in the park – she has nothing to do." After all, we are contract workers here. That is why I want my children to stand on their own feet, but have a desk-job, so they are not trampled on like we are. Yes you also have seniors, you are repressed too but at least you can speak it out. You can state your case. I cannot because I am afraid: I am a contract worker; they fire me if I speak³⁹ (Figure 5.4).

da ne olduysa, neden kaynaklandığını bilmediğimiz bir leke var. Orayı siliyoruz. Kadın sürekli orayı görüyor, "siz ne ürün kullanıyorsunuz bu çıkmıyor" diyor. "Bu ev silinmedi yerler pis". Anlatıyoruz; eline peçete alıyor ve yere sürüyor, yerden simsiyah iz çıkıyor. Ama biz mop atıyoruz. Suda yıkıyorsun, sıkıyorsun, yerleri siliyorsun. Makineyle almıyoruz ki. Biz tekrar silsek yine leke çıkıyor. İnşaat pisliği kalıyor ama işte, bir kere silince geçmiyor. Haftada iki kere çağıracaksın o zaman. Mesela sürekli girdiğimiz dairede öyle bir problem yok. Çıktığımızda hiçbir leke kalmıyor.

O gün öyle oldu. Ondan sonra müdürlere falan bu kadın mail atıyor. Bana o gün kızıyor; sinirlendi ya leke çıkmıyor diye. Demiş ki "çoluk çocuğu gönderiyorsunuz işi bilmiyor; işi bilmeyen kıızı göndermişler bu kıızın da suçu yok." (gülüyor) Kendi kendine sinirleniyor ama. O gün zoruma gitti. Bahşiş de var şimdi işin içinde. O gün de bahşiş verdi. O gün o bahşişi harcamadım. Harcamadım. Parayı elime bile almak istemedim. Çünkü diğer daireyi de ben yapıyorum hiçbir sorun olmuyor. Aşağıya indik. Amirime anlattım durumu, "İnşallah bir problem olmaz" dedi. Demeye kalmadan bir mail geldi. Müdürler kendi aralarında toplantı yapıyorlar. Çok önemli çünkü ne olursa olsun milyon dolarlar dönüyor o işin içinde. İsterse haksız olsun haksızsın diyemiyorsun ona. Ondan sonra müdürle konuştuk, "ben diğer katlarda yaptığım gibi yaptım, eğer daha temiz yapabilecek bir şey varsa öğretin bana yapayım" dedim. "Sonuçta ben sizin gösterdiğiniz yapıyorum, kafama göre alıp da suyu yere kullanmıyorum." Allah'tan onlar da dediler sende bir sorun yok diye. O kadının huyuymuş. Onu atlattıktan sonra mesela bir yeri siliyorum ya, sonra bir kere daha siliyoruz hani sırf o laf gelmesin diye. Bana beş kere sil deseler problem değil, yeter ki ben o lafı yemeyeyim. Ben kolay kolay yanlış yapan bir insan değilim ki.

³⁹Int 1: Park çok güzel servis beklerken, içine girmiyoruz da önünde oturuyoruz bazen. Ama sorarsan gidiyor musunuz diye... Çok nadir gidiyoruz. Biz gitsek adamlar diyecek ki "kadın parkta geziyor - işi gücü yok." Sonuçta biz burada taşeron işçiyiz. O yüzden çocuklarım için istiyorum ki kendi ayaklarının üstünde otursunlar masa başına; ama masa başı, bizim gibi olmasın, çok ezilirler. Tamam sizler de çok eziliyorsunuz, sizin de bir üstünüz var ama en azından konuşmaya ağzınız var. İki çift lafı yanyana getirip halini arz edebiliyorsun, ben onu yapamıyorum korkuyorum; taşeronum, konuşursam işten atarlar.



Figure 5.4 : Int.1, Thanks god I'm working.

Even at the workplace, certain spaces are controlled according to the division of labor. It diversifies where and how to clean the workspace:

Int.8: When the landlord/landlady is there, we go in the flat with our supervisor at the first time. The supervisor checks what needs to be done. S/he says, for instance, “you take care of the dusting, and you the floors.” S/he arranges a division of labor for us. It is not like everyone is the same and they tell one of us to go up to the flat and the other to take care of this or that. Everyone has a fixed duty. It is determined at the job interview if you are assigned the corridors or the flat. I for one was tried as a maid from the start. Thank God, I have come through that trial period of two months. Now there is another employee working on the corridors, they are going to move her to the flats because they are pleased with her behavior and work. But usually they do not make changes.⁴⁰

In addition to that, the professionalization occurs not only at the level of cleaning but also at the level of control.

⁴⁰Int 8: Ev sahibi orda olduđu zaman daireye önce şefle giriyoruz. Şef bakıyor işte ne var ne yok, ne iş yapılacak. Diyor ki mesela “sen tozlara bak, sen yerlere bak.” İş bölümü yapıyor bize. Yoksa hani herkes aynı olup da “sen daireye çık, sen şuraya bak” diye rastgele denmiyor. Herkesin işi sabit. Koridorda mı yoksa dairede mi çalışacağı daha iş görüşmesinden belli. Ben mesela başından beri *maid* olarak denendim. Çok şükür o iki aylık deneme süresini de atlattım. Şimdi bir başka çalışan var koridorda çalışıyor, onun davranışlarını ve çalışmasını beğendiler diye şimdi daireye alacaklar. Ama genelde pek değişiklik yapmıyorlar.

Int.3: Just think, we have a face scan when we enter the island at 8 o'clock. And another one when we leave in the evening. Before this we used to have thumbprints. They said it could be infective. One time a disease popped up, hepatitis B. They turned that into a face scan after that. In addition, there are routine blood tests every 6 months. Now that they have a lot of money, they can do everything, thank goodness. I am number 3525 in that face scan... I guess there must be near 5000 workers.⁴¹

Int.3 expresses the process of learning her job when she first started to work at the dining hall, as a process of "industrialization" (Figure 5.5).



Figure 5.5 : Int.3, My individual "industrialization".

Int.3: I asked S. "how do you wash these, I need to make this more practical and easier." He told me how to use the empty space. I had taken all the dirty dishes and started doing them in detail like I did at home. But it does not work. I industrialized that, of course (laughs). I learned how to use it from the washing specialist. Then on the third day

⁴¹Int.3: Düşünsenize, yani bizim yüz okutmamız var 8:00'de adaya girdiğimiz zaman. Akşam çıkarken de okutuyoruz. Önce parmak basıyorduk. İşte parmaktan mikrop kapıyor dediler. Bir ara bi hastalık çıktı Hepatit B. Ondan bulaşıyormuş işte diye yüz okutmaya çevirdiler. Hatta 6 ayda bir sürekli rutin kan tahlili yapılıyor. Şimdi para çok olduğu için allah'tan her şeyi yapıyorlar... O yüz okutmada benim numaram 3525 düşün.. Ben atıyorum ama bence 5000'e yakın çalışan vardır.

I left at 7:00. Fourth day I finished at 6:30. I became very accustomed, I educated myself. Just like how you are preparing your thesis (laughs).⁴²

It is clear that the rules and regularizations of the workspace tend to homogenize the practices of the service workers. In fact, it is not only a condition of the cleaning work but also in many other precarious employments. However, it is crucial to look at how diversified experiences emerge at the workplaces of the interviewees by evaluating the homogenizing structural implications on certain workspaces and the way women react to such forces of unequal and precarious treatment.

5.2.1.2 Relationship with customers and managers

Five of the interviewees work as contract workers while three of them are staff members of the places they work at. The staff workers work at three of the most luxurious hotels, residences and leisure places for high-class people who are the so-called richest of Istanbul. Obviously, the luxurious places do not agree with a subcontract firm, instead such private corporations choose their own workers in order to provide better service for their customers. In such places, which do not work with subcontractor firms, the relationships are corporate relations, which make the interviewees feel more secure and comfortable. On the other hand, at the places that work with the internationalized subcontractor firms, the oppression and the control among the workers are much more visible.

When asked about their social environment within the workplace, Int.8 points out how the unforeseen control of the institutional/corporate attitude is empowered.

Int 8: Since everyone is at their own assigned work we can only come together at the meals or tea breaks, and during those we eat and drink in the same place with our boss or the managers. There is not a problem with that. You go through so many interviews and questionings when you are hired anyway... And if they see a problem, they discharge you. Be it with your talking or manners they discharge you almost instantly.⁴³

⁴²Int.3: "Süleyman abi sen nasıl yıkıyorsun? Benim daha pratik bi şekilde kolaylaştırmam lazım bu işi." Mutfığa baktı. Ümmühan dedi, boş alanı nasıl kullanacağımı anlattı bana ve ben kirli bi şekilde tabakları alıp evdeki işler gibi incik cincik uğraşmaya başlamıştım. Ama asıl öyle olmuyor. Ben onu tabı sanayileştirdim :D gülüyor gittim uzman bulaşıkçılardan kullanmasını öğrendim. Makinayı kullanmasını teknik servisten öğrendim. Derken 3'üncü gün 19:00da çıktım. 4'üncü gün bugün 18:30 da bitirdim. Baya bi elimi ayağımı alıstırdım kendimi eğittim. Sen nasıl tez hazırlıyorsan(gülüyor).

⁴³Int.8: Zaten herkes kendi işinde olduğu için anca yemeklerde ya da çaylarda bir araya geliyoruz, onlarda da zaten bizim patronumuz olsun müdürümüz olsun aynı yerde yiyip içiyoruz. Hani çok fazla problem olmuyor. Zaten işe alınırken o kadar fazla görüşmeden ve sorgudan geçiyorsun ki... Bir

Indeed, whatever the type of the employer or the service they give in each workplace, the interviewees assert that talking to customers are prohibited. Int.7 is working at a hotel at Taksim Square, which has “guests” from different parts of the world. When I asked her about the limitation of interaction with the customers, she responds as,

*Int 7: We do not call them customers, please; they are guests (she laughs). Housekeeping cleans the rooms in the morning. They usually do not want us to engage in dialogue with the guests. When the guests ask something of us, we help if we can but they of course do not want us to have small talk with them, things like asking how they are doing. But I have no trouble in conversing with my friends, everyone is busy doing their work anyway.*⁴⁴

According to Int.5, overpower among the workers which is applied by the customers or managers are something that she takes for granted.

*Int.5: We say let us let some fresh air in, you too need oxygen. If you are easygoing, they also become easygoing. If you are pretentious, they try to repress you. This is how we are. Whomever we see as sheepish we say let us try to overpower him/her too. In fact as humans we are all like this. I do not know, this is what I have seen, all the time. One tries to overpower the other all the time.*⁴⁵

However, this control is not institutional. The reaction and the resistance of Int.5 clarifies that the organized strength of the workers can change such mechanisms of control among the workers.

*Int.5: Before they would tell us not to talk too much with the patients. But because there is such a thing before and after the association (laughs) now such things do not happen that much. There was too much repression before the association. They used to scold me because my hand was in my pocket when I was talking. Now it is not that much. I do talk, the head nurse gives me the evil eye again, but I do not bother at all.*⁴⁶

problem olduğunu gördükleri zaman da zaten çıkartıyorlar. Konuşmada olsun tavırlarda bile olsun zaman kaybetmeden çıkartıyorlar.

⁴⁴Int.7: Müşteri demiyoruz lütfen onlar misafir (gülüyor). Housekeeping işte sabahları odaları temizliyor. Bizim genelde misafirlerle diyaloga girmemizi istemiyorlar. Bizden bir şey isterlerse, yapabileceğimiz bir şeyse yardımcı oluyoruz ama tabii sohbet amaçlı diyaloga girmemizi istemiyorlar, hatır sormak gibi şeyler yapmamızı istemiyorlar. Ama arkadaşlarımla diyaloga girmemde çok bir sıkıntı olmuyor, zaten herkes işinde gücünde oluyor.

⁴⁵Int.5: Biraz havalandıralım sizin de oksijene ihtiyacınız var diyoruz. Rahat davranırsanız onlar da rahat oluyor. Kasıntı davranırsanız onlar da baskı altına almaya çalışıyorlar. Böyle bir yapıdayız işte. Kimi ezik görüyorsak onu biraz da biz ezelim diyoruz. İnsan olarak hepimiz öyleyiz aslında. Yani ben bilmiyorum öyle gördüm, hep öyle. Biri birini hep ezmeye çalışıyor.

⁴⁶Int.5: Eskiden çok fazla konuşmayın etmeyin kendi aranızda hastalarla derlerdi. Ama işte dernek öncesi ve dernek sonrası diye bir şey olduğu için (gülüyor) şimdi pek öyle şeyler olmuyor.

Int.6 conveys that she experienced the same change after an organized resistance act against the un-just dismissing of the subcontract workers from a privatelyowned university (foundation university). She added that the unity among workers could change the attitude of the managers and their treatment of the workers (Figure 5.6).



Figure 5.6 : Int.6, If we stand together...

Int.6: The supervisors used to oppose and impose a lot at the beginning, when they realized they could not cope, they got a hold of themselves, but still it happens every now and then. People did a lot to each other before the resistance; we found out we are siblings and how we could be together. We saw the support of the professors and the students, we saw that everyone should support each other. That place taught us a lot... But I saw how much people changed. There were improvements in things like talking behind people's backs. We support each other when necessary. A lot changed for our friends in that aspect. There was not such unity, such solidarity before, now there is more of that. At least these changed, and that is actually the best part. There was helping before the resistance. It is mutual; for instance when my work was done, I would go to a friend and say "let's finish our work and have a cup of tea." This happens more

Dernek öncesi çok fazla baskı vardı yani. Elim cebimde diye, yani şöyle konuşurken elimi cebime soktum diye fırça atıyorlardı. Şu anda o kadar değil. Konuşuyorum, baş hemşire ters ters bakıyor yine, hiç rahatsız olmuyorum.

now. When the supervisors say something, there is more protecting now. They instantly threaten, they say “we will issue a report, write your defense.” Even at the smallest incident, they always say the same thing: “we will issue a report”. But all this has changed now. There used to be fear, fear of being discharged. There is none of that anymore. Now we know they cannot discharge us that easily if we stand together.⁴⁷

The function and the use of the workspace is another variable affecting the social relations of the workers. Three of the workers I interviewed work at universities where they encounter students and academicians as well as their managers. In universities, apparently the relationship is much more intimate than other workplaces. Int.6 claims that their attitude becomes a motivation to work enthusiastically.

Int.6: They are very nice, all wonderful people. I like them a lot, they are suave, they say “good morning.” This is such a nice motivation for us. One works merrier, even though the supervisors, the bosses or the managers bring you down. The light they shed is so beautiful, it makes one so happy that they say hello, good morning, take it easy, how are you... You work better, with spirit. Our professors are very nice.⁴⁸

For Int.1, working for the university and cleaning the rooms of the academicians is a reason to be proud of her work (Figure 5.7).

⁴⁷Int.6: Şefler ilk başlarda çok zıtlıyorlardı, emrivaki konuşuyorlardı, sonradan baktılar baş edemeyince biraz toparlamaya başladılar kendilerini, ama tabii ki ara ara oluyor yine. İnsanlar direnişe gitmeden önce birbirlerine çok şey yapıyorlardı, kardeş olduğumuzu öğrendik, nasıl birlikte olduğumuzu öğrendik. Hocaların ve öğrencilerin nasıl bir destek olduğunu, herkesin birbirine destek olması gerektiğini öğrendik. Çok şey öğretti orası bize. Çalışma ortamında nasıl davranacağımı bildiğim için sonrasında bende çok bir şey değişmedi. Ama insanların ne kadar çok değiştiğini gördüm. “O şunu yapıyor ben niye onu yapmıyorum” gibi birbirlerinin arkasından konuşmalarda çok düzelme oldu. Yeri geldiğinden birbirimize desteğiz, birbirimizi tutuyoruz. Çok değişiklik oldu o yönden arkadaşlarımızın arasında. Önceden bu kadar birlik yoktu beraberlik yoktu, şimdi daha çok var. Bunlar değişti hiç olmazsa, en güzeli bu yani. Direnişe gitmeden öncesinde de vardı yardım. Karşılıklıdır; mesela benim işim bitiyordu, arkadaşımın yanına gidiyordum, hadi gel işimizi bitirelim o zaman, bir çay içelim falan... Bu daha çok olmaya başladı. Orada şefler birine bir şey dediği zaman şimdi daha çok sahiplenme var. Şefler hemen tehdit ediyorlar, “tutanak tutacağız, savunmanı yaz” diyorlar. Ufacık bir şey görmesinler, hemen laflar hazır, “tutanak tutacağız”. Fakat artık bunlar çok değişti. Korku vardı, işten çıkarılma korkusu vardı. Şimdi bunların hiçbirisi yok. Artık bir araya gelince bizi kolay kolay atamayacaklarını biliyoruz.

⁴⁸Int.6: Çok iyiler, hepsi de mükemmel insanlar. Çok seviyorum onları, güler yüzlüler, günaydın diyorlar. Çok güzel bir motivasyon oluyor biliyor musun bize. İnsan daha güzel bir şeyle çalışıyor, her ne kadar şefler insanın moralini bozsa da, patronlar da bozsa, müdürler de bozsa... Onların o verdiği ışık o kadar güzel ki, “merhaba” demeleri, “günaydın” demeleri, “kolay gelsin” demeleri, “nasılsın” demeleri, insanın bir hoşuna gidiyor. Daha güzel bir çalışıyorsun, hevesle çalışıyorsun. Hocalarımız çok iyi bizim.



Figure 5.7 : Int.1, Working at the university.

Int.1: I serve among people who are well educated, sophisticated, kind and who really value others. Because the ignorant man there does not understand me, he sees me as flesh. My name was E. there. Here, it is "Ms. E. could you do this please?" Our previous dean came to me as I was mopping the floor and said "Ms. E. I am psychologically uncomfortable with this." I waited for him to finish what he was saying but my heart was throbbing fast that there was going to be a complaint. "Everyday you clean this floor and right after that we step on it, you do not have to mop here every day, that disturbs me psychologically" he said. He also told me to come and tell him if there are any complaints. I said thank God. Can you imagine: the professor wants me to do the cleaning but is also uncomfortable staining it. He talks to me as if I am a professor or a doctor or a lawyer. But if this happened in Eminönü, even if I lick the floors clean let alone mop them, the guy there does not tell me he is uncomfortable. What does he know about cleanliness and kindness?"⁴⁹

⁴⁹Int.1: Sabah geliyorum buraya ve üstümü çıkarmak zorundayım, çünkü ben deterjanlarla uğraşıyorum. Gidiyorum iki kat aşağıya iniyorum, işletmeden anahtarları alıyorum, benim çalıştığım bölgede asansör yok. Tekrar iki kat yukarı çıkıyorum elimdeki anahtar yaklaşık kaç tane oluyor? 12 sağ 12 sol koridor. Her odaya giriyorum, bunların isimlerini arıyorum, bu bir eziyet. Ara, kapısını aç içeri gir, çöpünü al camının önünü sil, masasını sil süpür. Paspas yap. Ama işime saygı duyuyorum, çünkü ben okumuş, kültürlü, nezaketli, gerçekten insana değer veren insanların yanında hizmet etmekteyim. Çünkü beni oradaki cahil adam anlamaz, o bana et gözüyle bakar. Orada E. idi ismim. Burada "E. Hanım yapar mısın?" Önceki dekanımız yer paspası yaparken geldi "E. Hanım ben psikolojik olarak rahatsız oluyorum." Ben bekliyorum anlattığı şeyin sonunu ama yüreğim pır pır, bir şikâyet gelecek diye. "Sen burayı siliyorsun, hemen ardından biz üstünden geçiyoruz, her gün burayı paspas yapmak zorunda değilsin, benim psikolojim bozuluyor böyle" dedi. Şikâyet olursa gel bana söyle dedi.

That's why she thinks that the space is produced together. She conveys that if any of them were not there the university would not exist. Therefore, she thinks that they have to act together, in solidarity (Figure 5.8).



Figure 5.8 : Int.1, If she is there then I am.

Int.1: If we do not unite; if I do not exist, you will not, and if you do not I will not. What good is your title if there are no students? Who cleans up after the professors? I do. We do. As a well-read, sophisticated people, the professors must know. They must understand that "if I am here then is Ms. E., and if she is here then I am." The whole school's cleaning is done by 7 people... And one more in the dean's floor, we are 8 in total. How many square-meters is this area, or how many classes of toilets are there? I clean 120 rooms from Monday to Friday. I just cleaned the other side until you came, today I will do this side, and I have keys in four corridors, I will do four corridors. Yes I have to do it today – my ear aches and I can be excused for today if I want to, but I have to do it. If I do not do it today, tomorrow I will do both this and tomorrow's work. I have to do it; I have to go inside and get the trash if there is any when I

"Yarabbi çok şükür" dedim. Düşünebiliyor musun, hoca benim temizlik yapmamı istiyor ama kirletirken de rahatsızlık duyuyor. Benimle hocaymışım ya da bir doktor ya da bir avukatmışım gibi konuşuyor. Ama bu Eminönü'nde olsa, ben orayı paspas değil dilimle de silsem, oradaki adam bana rahatsız olduğunu belirtmez. Çünkü okumuş kültürlü bir insan değil. O ne anlar temizlikten nezaketten.

*open the door. But if the professor is not here, I can do it next week, the room stays clean.*⁵⁰

In addition to these, gender is another variable determining the workload, the allowed places and social relations at the workspace. Since the cleaning service work is a crucial and supposedly natural attribute of femininity, the everyday social practices and relations challenge or reaffirm these gender attributions.

In the corporate firms and workplaces, these feminine attributions are taken for granted to reaffirm the gender at the workspace. Int.8 conveys that when she is not occupied the chef asks her kindly to put her “woman’s touch” on the corridors, as an excuse not to see her unoccupied and resting.

*Int.8: Mr. V. does not tell me to get a mop and do the mopping, he says “Ms. Y. could you please go to tower C and check out the dust there?” There is already someone doing that but he knows I am idle. He also knows I will not fool around, that’s his way of telling it. He does not ask me why I am just sitting there when I am in the office. Does not tell me to go and do cleaning here and there. I try not to sit idly too much to not draw too much attention anyway. If there is no flat-cleaning Mr. V. always sends me to tower C (laughs). “Ms. Y. can you check tower C? Just have a look, let there be a woman’s touch.” I go up there, but two people are already one too many for there anyway.*⁵¹

In another work place, in a public university, Int.2 experiences a much more compelling treatment, unlike Int.8. She expresses that the female workers at the university are obliged to clean the rooms, corridors and the toilets while male workers carry out muscle force required jobs related to open spaces at the university.

⁵⁰Int 6: Canım biz birbirimizle dayanışma yapmazsak; ben olmazsam sen yoksun, sen yoksan ben yokum. Öğrenci olmazsa senin ünvanın ne işe yarıyor? Bu budur yani, şimdi burada hocanın temizliğini kim paklıyor? Ben. Biz. Hoca anlasın yani okumuş kültürlü insan. Anlasın yani ben varsam E. Hanım var, o varsa ben varım. 7 kişinin elinde bu okulun bütün pisliği temizliği her şeyi... Bir de dekanlık katı, 8 kişiyyiz. Burası kaç metrekaare alan, kaç tane derslik kaç tane tuvalet var? Canım ben 120 oda temizliyorum pazartesten cumaya. Şimdi sen gelene kadar karşı tarafı yaptım, bugün burayı yapacağım, dört tane de koridorda anahtarım var, dört koridoru yapacağım. Evet, yapmak zorundayım bugün, bak kulağım ağrıyor istesem bugün izin alır giderim ama yapmak zorundayım yani. Bugün yapmazsam yarın, hem bunu yapacağım hem de yarının işlerini yapacağım. Yapmak zorundayım, yani o kapıyı açtığımda çöp varsa içeri girip çöpü almak zorundayım. Ama hoca yoksa bu hafta yapmasam öbür hafta yapıyorum, oda kirlenmemiş oluyor.

⁵¹ Int 8: Mesela bana V. Bey bana al eline paspas at demiyor, bana diyor ki mesela “Y. Hanım C kuleye geçip oranın bir tozuna bakar mısınız?” Yapan var zaten ama benim boş durduğumu biliyor. Sağda solda dolaşmayacağımı da biliyor, o şekilde söylüyor. Ben ofiste kalıp oturduğum zaman demiyor ki bana “sen burda niye oturuyorsun?”. Hani “git sağın solun temizliğini yap” demiyor. Zaten çok fazla boş oturmamaya çalışıyorum göze batmamak için. Eğer daire temizliği yoksa V. Bey de beni sürekli C kuleye gönderiyor (gülüyor). “Y. Hanım bir C kuleye bakın, bir bayan eli değsin. Bir göz atın.” Oraya çıkıyorum orada da zaten ikinci kişi fazla.

Although female workers hesitate to visit outside places to avoid attracting the chief's attention, male workers spend more time resting in the garden (Figure 5.9).



Figure 5.9 : Int. 2, Courtyard of the men.

Int.2: No I do not go downstairs that often. My work is here on the second floor. I go up there when I have some business to attend to. Or when I go out to pray or if someone calls for me when I am out for lunch. I come here in the morning and leave in the evening. I do not leave my post unless something happens. But others may go and sit in the garden – I do not want to be around too much.⁵²

On the other hand, in residences and hotels, female workers are principally occupied with cleaning the flats and rooms instead of corridors. While it is an implication, which hides the female workers from the common spaces of the workplace, they are sometimes exposed to sexual harassment when they visit the guests' room.

⁵²Int.2: Yok ben fazla aşağıya inmiyorum zaten. İşim bu kata (ikinci kat). Bir işim olursa yukarıya gidiyorum. Ya da ben namaza çıkarsam ya da yemeğe çıktığımda biri çağırırsa öyle gidiyorum. Sabah geliyorum akşam gidiyorum. Bir şey olmadıkça yerimden ayrılmıyorum. Ama diğerleri çıkar otururlar bahçede, ben fazla ortalarda dolaşmak istemiyorum.

*Int 5: The guests are usually Arab tourists. Of course, Arabs are a dirty people, they leave their clothes around just as they do at home and expect us to clean those up as well. Their view of women is hideous. Sometimes they invite us into the room, harass us. Even with their wives present. We complain to the managers in such instances, and they warn them appropriately...*⁵³

However, at residences Int.8 states that they do not really encounter the flat holders or guests. Rather than that, their chief worker explores the workload beforehand, and when they are occupied with cleaning the flats, the owners of the houses do not stay at home. However, she thinks that Turkish owners stay at home to control and overpower using their wealth.

*Int 8: We have never seen them; when we enter the flat for cleaning, they always have already left the keys and gone out. There is no such thing as standing over and checking how the cleaning is done. That is something always done by the Turks. Only Turks try to exhibit the power of money, of being rich. Only they say "I have the money, you have to do it." We have a lot of foreigners, mostly Arabs. Not too many Turks. There is a German woman we go to three days a week, her Turkish is so adorable. She is a very nice person; just to let us work more comfortably she leaves the living room and goes to the bedroom despite her broken leg. She asks if we are doing fine, she speaks politely. Always. There is no such thing as "I have the money and you will do this." At least not here.*⁵⁴

In summary, the relationships represent their visibility at the workplace. Although many of the workers do not really bother with the cleaning work in such luxurious and wealthy places, the relationships either make them feel that they take part in the production of the social space or rather invisible or left out at the workspace.

5.2.1.3 Spatial invisibility

Spatial configuration and the architectural program of the workplaces not only affects the social encounters but also affirms or challenges the visibility of the

⁵³Int.5: Arap turistler geliyor genelde. Tabii Araplar pis oluyor, evlerindeki gibi çamaşırlarını etrafa atıyorlar, onları da temizlememizi bekliyorlar. Kadınlara bakışları çok çirkin. Bazen bizi odaya davet ettikleri, taciz ettikleri oluyor. Hem de yanlarında eşleri varken. Biz böyle durumlarda müdürlerimize şikâyet ediyoruz, onlar gerektiği şekilde uyarıyorlar.

⁵⁴Int.8: Onları mesela hiç gormedik, daire temizlemeye girdiğimiz zaman zaten anahtarı bırakıp gitmiş oluyorlar. Hani başlarında duralım da kontrol edelim neyi nasıl temizliyorlar demek yok. Onları hep bizim Türkler yapıyor. Zenginliğin paranın gücünü bir tek Türkler göstermeye çalışıyorlar. "Benim param var sen yapacaksın" olayını bir tek onlar yapıyor. Çoğunlukla Araplar var bizim orada, hep yabancı var. Türk çok yok. Bir tane haftada üç gün girdiğimiz Alman var, kadın çok tatlı konuşuyor Türkçe'yi. Çok iyi bir insan, ayağı kırık olmasına rağmen oturma odasından kalkar yatak odasına gider sırf biz işimizi rahat yapalım diye. Kibar konuşur halimizi hatrımızı sorar. Muhakkak. "Benim param var siz bunu yapacaksınız" diye bir şey yoktur yani. En azından burada öyle.

worker and her labor. In addition to that, the interviewees convey that functionality of the workplace is designed according to the customers' preferences and priorities. They experience the consumption-based interior and urban design, which is emphasized through the physical components and attributes of separated places. The intended separation in workers and customers physical space signifies and enhances the invisibility of the worker. Besides changing priority in such places, not only constrains them from performing their work effectively but also puts them in a position of passive observer and makes them adapt their spatial practices and elaborates the alienation. On the other hand, the control among their behaviors and daily practices tend to hide them in the public spaces of the workplace. Consequently, they feel extrinsic and invisible at the workspace.

Int.5: Our lunch break is thirty minutes. You can go out to lunch or stay and rest but usually the managers say "stay at your post if you are not going out to lunch." We do not heed this, of course. Because if those thirty minutes are mine, I can be wherever I want. They started saying "have lunch, go to your post, do not wander about smoking, we do not want to see you roaming around" but I can have my lunch and smoke if I want to. I do not heed directives like "do not stay there, stay here." I do not because they have no right for it. For instance, we do not have our own room but there is a cantina in the operating room. The doctors shop from there. There are tables as well where they sit and eat, and we are responsible from that area. Since our head nurse is a kind person we can have breakfast there as well. But when she is on leave, the nurse in charge stares at us and tries to move us from there, saying "you are drawing too much attention." What I mean is, there are still some who go on with their quirkiness. I said "no, you will not get up, stay where you are. Do it until someone tells you not to." Because they also work for 8 hours but always have their cups of tea in their hands. If they think our breakfast is too much, let them say it.⁵⁵

⁵⁵Int.5: Öğle paydosumuz yarım saat. Öğle arasında ister dışarı yemeğe çık ister dinlen ama genelde idare amirleri "yemeğe çıkmıyorsan yerinde dur" diyor. Tabii biz dinlemiyoruz. Çünkü o yarım saat benimse istediğim yerde geçiririm. "Yemeğinizi yiyin, yerinize gidin, sağda solda sigara içmeyin, ortalarda görmek istemiyoruz" demeye başladılar ama ben yine de yemeğimi de yerim sigaramı da içerim. Orda durma şurda dur dinlemem. Kulak asmiyorum çünkü öyle bir hakları yok. Mesela bizim kendi odamız yok ama ameliyathanenin içinde kantin var. Doktorlar kantinden alışveriş yapıp ameliyathaneden çıkıyor. Masalar var, orda oturup yiyorlar, oralara da biz bakıyoruz. Baş hemşiremiz iyi bir insan olduğu için biz kantinde kahvaltı yapabiliyoruz. Ama mesela o izinde olunca sorumlu hemşiremiz dik dik bakıp "çok göze batıyorsunuz" diyip bizim yerimizi değiştirmeye çalışıyor. Yani öyle, hala cinslikleri devam edenler oluyor tabii inatla. Ben bu sene kaldırtmadım kimseyi, geçen sene öyle yerimizi sık sık değiştirdikleri oluyordu. "Hayır kalkmayın oturacaksınız!" dedim. "Birisiz size yapmayın diyene kadar yapacaksınız!" Çünkü onlar da 8 saat çalışıyor ama ellerinden çay kahve düşmüyor. Bizim kahvaltımız çok geliyorsa ona göre söylesinler.

Correspondingly, the physical and functional separation in certain spaces limits the chances of class encounters. While some of the interviewees interiorize such separations they also promote it and interiorize the situations since many of such taken for granted practices and spatial separations are taught at the weekend trainings. Int.4 is a cleaning worker who works at a recently launched luxurious shopping mall at Zincirlikuyu. Before that, she was working at a much smaller and a kind of local shopping mall as a food court cleaner. When I asked her to compare both workspaces, she pointed out the increased separation of spaces and practices with the customers (Figure 5.10). The common separation appears at where the workspace and public space is juxtaposed. Especially at the elevators and entrances such encounters are prevented.

Int.4: Our elevators are not actually separate. They told the personnel to use the cargo lift due to the customer density.⁵⁶



Figure 5.10 : Int.4, Place of Separation.

Int.4: This is Z.'s dish separation area (Figure 5.11), the corridor behind the stores. When we were at shopping mall A. we used to collect the dishes and separate them at the same time. If there is a burger store, their dishes are different for instance. We used to return them after separation. But we used to hand the dishes while the customers were shopping. We used to say "sir can you excuse me, I need to hand in the tray." What we were doing was wrong, why should we intervene while

⁵⁶Int.4: Bizim asansörlerimiz ayrı değil aslında. Müşteri yoğunluğundan dolayı "personeller yük asansöründe insan binsin" dediler.

the customers are shopping? It is not our right to disturb the customers. This place has a different background. Two of our friends do the separation at the back, without disturbing the customers. This decreases our workload and at the same time the dishes are returned to the stores without being seen.⁵⁷



Figure 5.11 : Int 4, The corridor behind the stores.

In this situation the overlooked functional organization of space clarifies how she defines the relationship between herself and the customer. She thinks that her (their) existence is a reason of disturbance for the customer, this situation would cause an unnecessary dialog and space in customers experience.

Int.4: Why should they be disturbed? Especially in crowded areas like the burger store or the baked potato stall, the customer has to move

⁵⁷ Int.4: Burası Z.'nin bulaşık ayırma yeri. Dükkanların arkasındaki koridor.Biz AVM A.'dayken tabak çanağı hem topluyorduk hem de bir taraftan bölüyorduk.Hamburgerci varsa hamburgercinin tabağı ayrı.Ayırdıktan sonra onları bir de geri veriyorduk.Ama biz müşteri bir şey alırken aynı taraftan tabakları veriyorduk. Biz diyorduk ki “ağabey müsaade eder misin tepsiyi bırakayım.” Orada biz yanlış yapıyorduk, niye müşteri yemek alırken biz aynı taraftan bölelim ki?Müşteriyi rahatsız etmek hakkımız değil ki.Buranın ayrı bir arka planı var işte.Arkada iki arkadaş ayırıyor mesela, müşteriyi rahatsız etmiyor. Hem bizim işimiz azalmış oluyor hem de görünmeden tabaklar dükkanlara geri verilmiş oluyor.

further away when we ask for permission. Then the person next to them will say “take it easy”, why cause such a disturbance?⁵⁸

Int.4: The same thing goes for shopping mall Z. as well. Something like pomp – the cleaning car almost capsized because of the stones on the floor. You think it is going straight. I was about to fall a number of times. Instead of showing so much pomp, they should change the amblem of the toilets into a proper one. They say they elaborate on the finest detail but they did not even do the essential thing they are supposed to. Okay, flowers and trees are fine. Or think about the cleanliness of the cars, if you are asking for a cleaning company here, you have to think of our needs as well. What do you do cleaning with? You do it with water. There is a tap but it is way too far, right across the main square. Just like that there is another one on the other side of the corridor on our floor, -1. Even two of us could not carry the bucket together. And you have to pass through the customers to do this.⁵⁹

On the other hand, she also emphasizes the priority of consumption through the overdesigned public space of the shopping mall whilst the architects/employer left over the necessary elements and equipments of the cleaners, at the back of the displayed space (Figure 5.12).

Int.4: It is so unnecessary to have so much extravagance of light and energy just to draw attention and have more sales. Just to sell pine trees. Why are you chopping them down and selling them? They provide oxygen for us; just have those made of plastic. When I say complicated, I mean, the customer cannot even find the toilets. The guy walks in to the ladies room when I am in there. The symbol that distinguishes between the ladies and gents restrooms is not clear enough. I went in a restroom today; it is not permitted to get water for cleaning from there. There is a separate restroom for the kids 3-4 years of age, we go there to fill the bucket. Normally that is not permitted as well but I had grab the bucket and do it. They scolded me saying there were customers there, and why I was filling the bucket.⁶⁰

⁵⁸Int.4: Niye rahatsız olsun? Özellikle hamburgerci ve kumpirci gibi kalabalık ortamlarda müsaade isterken müşteri de biraz daha ileri gitmek zorunda. O zaman yan tarafındaki de diyecek ki “yavaş ol”, ne gerek var böyle bir rahatsızlık vermeye...

⁵⁹Int.4: Mesela aynı şey bu Z. AVM’de de var. Şatafat mı diyeyim - temizlik arabası devriliyordu yerdeki taşlardan. Düz gidiyor zannediyorsun araba. Kaç kere düşüyorum sandım. O kadar şatafata önem verene kadar afedersin tuvaletinin amblemini güzel amblem yapsın ya. En ufak ayrıntıyı düşünüyoruz diyorlar ama asıl yapılması gereken şeyi yapmamışlar işte. Tamam güzel çiçek ağaç. Ya da arabaların temizliğini düşün, madem oraya sen temizlik şirketi koyuyorsun bizim neye ihtiyaç duyduğumuzu da düşünmeleri lazım. Temizlik neyle yapılır? Suyla yapılır kardeşim. Yani afedersin. Çeşme var ama taa nerde. Meydanın tam karşısında. Bi de onun gibi bizim katta -1’dekoridorun öbür tarafında var. Gittik iki arkadaş kovayı taşıyamadık. Meydandan müşterinin içinden geçmek zorundasın bunun için.

⁶⁰Int 4: Gerek yok o kadar, ılık enerji ısrafı yani sırf ilgi çeksin satış yapalım diye. Çam ağacı satalım diye. Çamı niye kesiyorsun da satıyorsun biz ondan oksijen alıyoruz, kardeşim plastiğini koy. Karışık derken yani mesela, müşteri tuvaleti bile zor buluyor. Adam ben bayanlar tuvaletindeyken tuvalete



Figure 5.12 : Int.4, Just to draw attention and have more sales.

Int.4: They said the supervisor and the manager did not like it. I told them to go and tell their managers and supervisors that we need a tap outside to clean these cars, where were we to clean them? Now for two days I am getting the water from there. I do not wash the car there. I just fill the bucket. They tell me a load of money was spent for those marbles and tiles. “Are you paying for this yourself?” I asked. “Go and issue a complaint to whoever you want, how in the world am I going to clean these cars?” We are just filling the bucket and taking it to clean the cars inside. They say I am not to take the water from there, “where am I supposed to bring the water, from home?” I said. I take the water outside after cleaning and pour it down the outlet near the smoking area. They should have done the things we need instead of all that extravagancy.⁶¹

Similarly not only the requirements of the cleaning work is being left over, but also certain necessities of the worker is being easily discarded. For example Int.6 conveys

giriyor. Erkekler tuvaleti ile bayanlar tuvaletini ayırd etme sembolü uygun değil işte. Bir de bir tane tuvalete bugün gittim. Tuvaletten su doldurmak yasak. 3-4 yaşındaki çocuklar için ayrı bi tuvalet var oraya kovayı koyup dolduruyoruz. Normalde orda da yasak da mecburen kovayı alıp su doldurmaya gidecektim. Gittim “müşteriler var” dediler kızdılar, “niye dolduruyorsun?” falan dediler.

⁶¹ Şef kızıyor, müdür kızıyor. O zaman dedim “müdürünüze şefinize söyleyin bu arabaları silmek için bize çeşme yapsın dışarıya, nerde yıkayacağız biz bu arabaları” diye kızdım. Ondan sonra iki gündür suyu ordan alıyorum. Ben arabayı orda yıkamıyorum ki kovayı dolduruyorum sadece. Neymiş bilmem ne kadar para verilmiş o mermere fayansa. “Bunun parası senin cebinden mi çıkıyor?” dedim. “Gidin beni kime şikayet ederseniz edin, nasıl temizleyeceğim ben bu arabaları o zaman?” Kovayla su doldurup getirip arabayı siliyoruz içerde işte. Su doldurup götürmeyecekmişim, “nereden dolduracağım evden mi getireceğim?” dedim. Kovayı temizliyorum döküyorum dışarı, orada gider var sigara içilen yerde. Yani o kadar gösteriş yapacaklarına bizim ihtiyacımız olan şeyleri yapsalardı ya.

that their break room is not thought or designed for the workers, it is an add-on place where the building installment store is situated. As a consequence the workers do not use the room unless they have to, they are “obliged to use and share” the public space. In result the workplace becomes the obliged place of class convergence and encounters (Figure 5.13).



Figure 5.13 : Int.6, The terrace for the workers.

Int 6: There was a place we used to rest in, they took it from us, and now have built us a totally different resting place. It is very noisy, and is underground. We do not go there because there is so much noise. A few of us just take our tea and instead of going there, have it on the terrace or somewhere. Of course this drives them mad, too (laughs).⁶²

The separation also exists at the commuting services of the workers. Although the only cleaners provided a bus service are the university service workers, the Corporate/private University separates the bus services according to the users' occupation. On the other hand public university services have a mixture in the personnel, which brings about a problem often.

⁶²Int 6: Dinlendiğimiz bir yer vardı, onu elimizden aldılar, şimdi bize çok farklı bir dinlenmeye yeri yaptılar. Orası da çok gürültülü, yeraltında. Çok gürültü ve ses var, biz gitmiyoruz. Birkaç kişi çay ocaklarından çayımızı alıp odaya gitmek yerine teraslarda falan içiyoruz. Ona da sinir oluyorlar tabii (gülüyor).

Int 6: Just the employees of the Company. They have their own vehicles. The assistants have bus services. The ones for the employees of the university are different than the ones for us, the contract workers. We had our separate buses in my previous company as well. It is the same everywhere.⁶³

On the other hand, the visual attributes and the uniqueness of space can make them and their work unique to that certain workspace as a whole. Int.3 is now working as a food handler at the dining hall of the personnel at a leisure center in an artificial island. However one week before the interview, she was working as a cleaning worker at the same place. She states that her workplace is unique to Istanbul, and it is the best place where she can do such a miserable work (Figure 5.14). Thus she expresses her invisibility at the most visually appealing place.



Figure 5.14 : Int.3, I don't think anyone who leaves there can work somewhere else

Int 3: It is the first seen when I come to my workplace.I do not think anyone who leaves there can work somewhere else. Their service, workers, the taste of the food are all really good. You work, of course. It is crowded. I mean everyone works hard. You say, “Yes, I work hard but so do H. and A.” You just disappear in the crowd. But you are distracted since the imagery is so beautiful. As I said, you are doing the worst job in

⁶³Int.6: Sadece şirketin çalışanları. Onların kendi araçları var. Asistanların servisleri var. Üniversitenin kendi işçilerinin ayırır. Biz taşeronun ayırır. Eski şirketteyken de ayırdı. Hep aynı düzen.

*the most privileged place in the world. One could not put up with this if it were somewhere else.*⁶⁴

Nevertheless she is one of the two who directly signifies and delineates the concrete separations between the customer and the worker (Figure 5.15).



Figure 5.15 : Int.3, Our entrance

*Int.3: This is the place where we enter to our workplace. They separate us from the guests by the time we step in. The guests are not allowed to enter to this area; they have their own entrance. For sure for them, it's much more joyful to climb the stairs and walk in to the hall with a nice view. We have to step on these trash bags and try to walk on the corridor. The dining hall (the place she works) is at the end of this corridor. The amount of the bags seem less than usual, since there wasn't any programme last night I suppose it is not that much.*⁶⁵

⁶⁴Int.3: Bu iş yerimi gördüğüm ilk an. Oradan ayrılanın başka bir yerde çalışabileceğini düşünmüyorum. Ben şimdi oranın ortamını gördüğüm için bana şuradaki restoranlar daha bir şey geliyor. Oranın servisi, çalışanları, yemeğin lezzeti falan gerçekten çok güzel. Tabii çalışıyorsun. Şey var yani çok kalabalık dedim ya. Hani herkes ağır iş yapıyor. Ha o da yapıyor Hasan da Ahmet de ağır iş yapıyor. Ha ben de yapıyorum diyorsun. O kalabalığın arasında kaynıyorsun. Ama görselliği çok güzel olduğu için kafan dağılıyor. Diyorum ya, dünyanın en güzel en ayrıcalıklı yerinde dünyanın en pis işini yapıyorsun. Başka bir yerde bu çekilmezdi.

⁶⁵Int.3: Bu adaya ilk geldiğimde yüz okutmadan sonraki ilk an. Yüzümüzü okutuyoruz giriş ve çıkışlarda personel sayımı için. Düşün benim numaram 3528, 5000'e yakış kişi çalışıyordur kesin burda. Temizlikçisinden aşçısına, komiserinden amirine. Bu taraf bizim girişimizi yaptığımız yer. Adaya ilk geldiğimiz andan itibaren ayırıyorlar bizi. Normalde buraya müşterilerin girmesi yasak. Tabi merdivenlerden çıkıp yukardan doğru dolaşmak daha keyifli oluyor. Biz işte bu çöplerin üstüne basa

5.2.1.4 Hidden spaces of work in need of privacy

Considering the control among the workload and practices of the workers, the only times to socialize happen to be the breaks. Since such breaks are also limited to certain gathering places, which are generally at poorer conditions, all of the interviewees asserted that they explored certain hidden places of escape. Apparently, the oppression at the workplace compels them to “disappear”.

Int 3: When we were working at night we were using the tiny storehouse with full of pipes to have a rest, secretly. Next to the storehouse there is a health clinic kind of place. Sometimes we were resting there on the sly. We already know when the heads will come and when he will call us anyway.⁶⁶

Similarly Int.7 reveals that they develop certain tactics to hide themselves.

Int. 7: We have separate entries for the personnel. We sometimes sit and chat in some places where no one sees us. There are fire escape stairs, for example. And we now know what time the manager arrives anyway. When the manager comes the automatic lights turn on and we can tidy ourselves up.⁶⁷

On the other hand the places of escape at the workplace are not only the hidden or forgotten places but also can be the spaces of inhabitation interchange rather than the encounter.

Int 6: Our room faces the gym. We always go up to the terrace. And there is the study room across our storage, the place we talked in, we go there, like a meeting room. It is a room that students study in. Nowadays it is used very often, students are studying since they have their exams. But we go there when there is no one studying, we cannot go if students are there. If it is empty, we go there after lunch, and chat a little.⁶⁸

basa geçiyoruz. Benim çalıştığım yemekhane bu yolun sonunda. Bu da çöplerin az hali, düşün burası gece bangır bangır kalabalık oluyor, program olduğunda. Dün gece olmadığı için böyle az çöp çıkmış.

⁶⁶Int.3: Bir depo var orayı dinlenme yeri diye boruların arasında küçücük daracık kaçak göcek kullanıyorduk gececiyken. Bir de bunun yanında bir sağlık ocağı gibi bir yer var. Orda dinleniyorduk gizli gizli. Zaten şeflerin geliş gidiş saatlerini bildiğimiz için tahmin ediyoruz ne zaman bizi arayacaklarını.

⁶⁷Int.7:Personel girişimiz ayrıdır. Arada kimsenin görmediği bazı yerlerde oturur sohbet ederiz. Yangın merdivenleri var mesela. Zaten amirin geliş saatlerini biraz biliyoruz artık. Gelirken otomatik ışık yanıyor ya oradan anlayıp toplanıyoruz.

⁶⁸Int.6: Odamız spor salonuna doğru bakıyor. Çıkarız devamlı terasa otururuz. Bir de şu depomuzun karşısında bir etüd odası var. Arada konuştuğumuz yer var, oraya gideriz yani, toplantı odası gibi. Orası normalde öğrencilerin çalıştığı... Oda yani. Çok kullanılmıyor ama bu aralar sık kullanıyor, öğrencilerin sınavları oldukları için masa başında derslerini çalışıyorlar ama biz onlar yokken gidiyoruz zaten, onlar varken giremeyiz. Bakıyoruz kimse yoksa gireriz içeri, yemekten sonra, gırgır şamata, sohbet ederiz.

With no surprise, I observed that working itself becomes a place of escape for cleaning women. However for Int.3, loneliness at home shifts her emotional and spatial centrality to workspace which becomes the focal point of her daily experiences.

Int.3: I am not in this photo (Figure 5.16) – we go there and hide so that we are not seen around and given any chores anyway (laughs). But whatever I do I feel tired at the end of the day and I usually have worked without sitting down once. But this is all physical fatigue. There is no fatigue of the mind, you do not think about any of your problems. Sometimes I just do not know what I will do on an off day. Wake up, clean up the flat, I go outside but again with my friends from work. Although I attended myself (laughs) for at least an hour today (an off day) since I do not have any time for it.⁶⁹



Figure 5.16 : Int.3, The invisible escape.

⁶⁹ Int.3: Bu fotoğrafta çıkmamışım, zaten biz buraya girip saklanırsanız bizi ortalıkta görüp iş vermesinler diye(gülüyor). Ama gün sonunda ne yaparsam yapayım çok yorgun oluyorum ve hiç oturmadan çalışmış oluyorum. Ama bu beden yorgunluğu oluyor. Kafanda olmuyor, hiç bir problemini düşünmüyorsun. İzin günlerinde bazen tek başıma ne yapacağımı bilemiyorum. Uyan evi toparla, e dışarı çıkıyorum gene işten arkadaşlarımla. Gerçi kendimle ilgilenecek vaktim olmadığı için bugün (izin günü) en az 1 saat kendimle ilgilendim (gülüyor).

Consequently there is a contradictory unity of the workspace where production and reproduction within space are not mutually exclusive. Spaces of reproduction becomes embedded in the spaces of production through the places of privacy at the workplace.

5.2.1.5 Work for social security, not for a better quality of life

The wage work is a significant determinant in shaping the quality of life and socio-spatial practices of low wagedworkers. Moreover, women's participation in family income becomes an obligatory phenomenon to sustain and survive within urban conditions. As we can assume that, impoverished women with a multiple workload both at the workspace and at home not only work for income participation but also for being visible and empowered at home. On the other hand the interviewees assert that their priority for work is to have access to social security and affordable social health services rather than earning high income and increasing the quality of their lives. Considering the fact that they can earn much more in the textile companies without any social security registration (where they used to work before) they chose to work at the cleaning sector as contract labor even though they are still insecure contract-wise. As a result of all this, they became adaptive to the oppression, which they are exposed to, and they prefer to be voiceless and invisible.

The precarious conditions of the contract labor are norms taken for granted for Int.1. Until the vesting period ends, she can put up with the un-just treatments on the insurance, depreciation expenses, severance pay and other social rights. But when the time for retirement comes, she believes she will gain her loss back legally.

Int.1: Thank God I have insurance, for 8 years. I will get about 1010 TL this month, food and travel included. It is not much but I am grateful. It is too much work and little pay but it is the best of a bad lot. I had no insurance before but now I do. I worked there for 2 years but I received a 10 TL insurance. In the next place I worked for 2 years and 3 or 6 months but my insurance was paid for only 6 months. I realized that when I came here. I guess government is more suitable for contract workers. I say at least I have my insurance and my weekends are off. Our contract is renewed every year but every month there is severance and hiring. That is to avoid paying for depreciation but I asked professor S. about this. He said let them do what they want, it is clear when you

*started working here. If necessary you can show one or two witnesses from the faculty and sue them and win.*⁷⁰

Int.6 is divorced and lives with her mother and sisters who take care of her children. She expresses that when she got married, she didn't want to be economically dependent to someone since she got used to stand alone before the marriage. However her husband was unemployed and not looking for a job. She thought that she had to work at a place with insurance to care for her sons.

*Int 6: My mother insisted that I have insurance so that I can look after my children and he (her husband) did not work, I said let me work then. Because I am used to standing on my own feet, but I am no longer by myself, I need a proper job. It did not matter this much before.*⁷¹

For Int.5, working at a hospital means much more than working at a more secure job with higher wage. She preferred to stay at the hospital to have an easy access for health service (figure 5.17).

*Int.5: He had a sharp toothache that day, made a fuss when I took a picture of his brother so that I would take one of him. I took him to the dentist with the help of acquaintances from the hospital and the dentist said the tooth had to be pulled. I still could not convince him, he endures the pain like this. It would be much easier if not for their stubbornness and temper. When I started working, my father-in-law gave permission for we could easily access the hospital. This helped us a lot of course, since his son does not work.*⁷²

⁷⁰ Int.1 Var canım çok şükür sigortam var. 8 senedir sigortalıyım, yemek yol maaş içinde bu ay 1010 liraya yakın para alıyorum. Çok mu? Değil, ama çok şükür. İş çok parası az ama naapalım, kötünün iyisi. Eskiden iki işimde de güvencem yoktu. Güvencem burda var. Sigortam burda yatıyor. Adam gibi orda 2 sene çalıştım, sigortam 10 lira yattı. Diğerinde 2 sene 3 ay mı 6 ay mı ne çalıştım, 6 ay sigortam yattı. Ben buraya gelince bi baktım 6 ay yatırılmış. Demek ki devlet daireleri taşeronu daha makbul. En azından ya diyorum ki çok şükür sigortam yatıyor haftasonu tatilim var. Her yıl sözleşmemiz yenileniyor ama tabi her ay giriş çıkış yapıyor. Yıpranma payı almasın diye ama ben bunu hocamıza danıştım. “İstedikleri kadar giriş çıkış yapsınlar, senin buraya ne zaman girip ne zaman çıktığın ortada” dedi. “İki tane şahit gösterirsin fakülteden gerektiği zaman davayı açarsın, kazanırsın” dedi.

⁷¹ Int.6: Annem Sigortam olsun da çocuklarıma bakabileyim diye ısrar etti, bu(eşi) da çalışmıyordu, hadi ben çalışayım bari dedim. Çünkü alışmışım kendi ayaklarım üstünde durmaya ama artık ben de tek değilim ki, sağlam bir iş olması lazım. Eskiden tabi o kadar önemi yoktu.

⁷² O gün dişi çok ağrıyordu abisinin fotoğrafını çekince iyice huysuzlandı, beni de çek diye. Hastaneden tanıdıklar vasıtasıyla aldım dişçiye götürdüm, doktor çekilecek dedi. Hala ikna edemedim. Çektirmiyor dişini, böyle çekiyor acısını. Onların inadı huysuzluğu olmasa daha kolay olacak. Ben işe başladığımda kayın babam bir ayağımız hastanede olur işte diye çalışmama izin vermişti. Oğlu da çalışmadığı için tabi, hakkaten bunun faydasını çok gördük.



Figure 5.17 : Int.5, What if I was not working at a hospital...

Int.5: My husband did not have a proper job for some years. And I used to make some stuff at home and sell them to provide for myself without asking for anything from my in-laws. But now my son has to have an operation, and somehow the three men at home cannot give a little bit of money for it. And it is not much, I tell you. And I buy antibiotics every 15 days for my own medical problems, that is why I took this job. That is why I fought and continued. I found a new job once I found out about this contract business but I wished there had been a union, I did not want to leave the hospital. Our working conditions could not be as bad as those of a factory, and we had access to the hospital. After this union process started I decided not to quit, but then we were fired (laughs).⁷³

As Harvey (2000) noted that the process of capitalist labor has always molded the bodies for the priority of creating surplus value, hence it produces “*deformities, pathologies, sicknesses*”(Harvey 2000:103). Paralelly, each of them experiences such “*deformities*” since their health is highly affected by the workload. Besides it is a

⁷³Int.5: Eşim kaç yıldır çalışmıyordu zaten doğru düzgün. Ben kendi kendime evde bir şeyler yapıp satıyordum kayınımlardan bi şey istemeden kendi ihtiyaçlarımı karşılamak için. Ama artık oğlumun ameliyat olması lazım, geniz eti ameliyatı var. Niyeyse evdeki 3 adam azcık bi para verip çocuğu ameliyat ettiremiyorlar. Çok bi para da değil hani. Bi de ben kendi sağlık sorunlarım için 15 günde bir antibiyotik alıyorum, bunun için işe girmişim. Bunun için inat ettim de devam ettim. Taşeron meselesini daha iyi öğrenince endişelenip başka bir iş buldum ama keşke bi sendika olsa dedim, çünkü ben aslında hastaneden çıkmak istemiyordum dedim. Çalışma kosullarımız ağır olsa da fabrika gibi olmaz işte bi ayağımız hastanede falan.. Sonra bu sendikalaşma süreci başlayınca işi bırakmaktan vazgeçtim ama sonra da atıldık işte (gülüyor).

result of how the cleaning bodies are disciplined through time and space and the treatment of the cleaning body in the contemporary workspace.

Int.3: I lie in bed but cannot sleep because of fatigue. I hear the morning prayer, after that I fall asleep, that is why I can get up at 12 or 1 o'clock. My metabolism has changed. My eating habits and all. But since I do not have a better alternative I do not think about changing it now.⁷⁴

Similarly for Int.7 social security and the right for retirement is crucial to recuperate her health, which is in decay and neglected because of the high workload. The need of having social security to recover her own and her family's health, forces her to continue working although she wants to stay at home with her children.

Int.7: I have been at this hotel for 8 years. If I quit I cannot get my severance, so they have to fire me. I am not a contract worker, I am a regular staff member. The insurance is the most important thing. I want to get my assurance, I have 11 months left for pension pay. I think mine is 5130 or something. It has something to do with the number of years you have been working. I have worked for 20 years. In 11 months I will get my severance, God willing. Then I will wait for the retirement age. Mine is 43. Now I am 39 but you would think I am an old granny. I can list at least 10 illnesses. It is the same for my kids as well. Some of it is genetic but some is for not taking care of oneself, neglecting oneself. We can of course have some time off when we are sick but what matters is the job you are doing.⁷⁵

5.2.2 Perception of inequality

Massey (1994) explains the inequalities in terms of the dominant form of economic activity and the indicators of social well being. According to David Harvey (2005) the norms determining the inequality are the results of the capitalist modes of production. The city form is shaped by the spatial requirements of the prevalent economic activities. The logic of capitalist modes of production is the most dominant force in driving urbanization; in result it is the primary cause for socio-spatial differences in the city (Massey,1994, Harvey, 2006). This market driven process does not work to impede the production of inequalities rather use space to perpetuate

⁷⁴Int.3: Yatağa yatıyorum çok yorgunum, uykusuzluktan uyuyamıyorum ama yorgunluktan. Ezan okunuyor. Anca uykuya dalıyorum o yüzden öğlen 12:00 de 13:00 de kalkıyorum. Hani metabolizmam değişti. Yemek düzenim değişti falan... Ama tabi daha iyi bir alternatifim olmadığı için şu an değiştirmeyi düşünmüyorum işimi.

⁷⁵Int.7: 8 yıldır bu oteldeyim. Ayrılısam çıkışımı alamam onların atması lazım. Taşeron değilim otelin kadrolu elemanıyım. En önemlisi sigorta. Artık güvencemi de alayım emeklilik primime bi 11 ay kaldı. 5130 mu ne benimki. İşte çalıştığın yıllar alakalı bi şey bu. Benim 20 yıl çalışmış sürem var. 11 ay sonra allah nasip ederse çıkışımı alacağım. Sonra da emeklilik yaşımı bekleyeceğim. Benimkisi 43 yaş. Şimdi 39 yaşımdayım işte...

the conditions of social inequalities. Correspondingly, the conditions of exploitation, insufficient economic development, lack of education and professional training, power imbalances are both produced and exacerbated by the priorities of the capital accumulation and realization in the city. In addition to that the market-driven political strategies and the physical planning clench the pattern of the socio-spatial inequalities.

In order to understand how the structurally produced inequalities affect the everyday life of the service workers, it is crucial to understand the practice of cleaning and cleaning work imposes the perception of inequality.

5.2.2.1 Cleaning work and deprivation

Female service workers are obliged to maintain the “house” clean both at workspace and at home. They work at the most qualified and luxurious hotels or shopping malls and serve for the consumption, which they cannot afford. Thus looking at the way they take part at the process of space production in relation with the conflicting duality of living and working conditions is significant in understanding how their perception of inequality limits or shapes their daily practices. Apparently the conditions and the quality of life they encounter at their workplaces enlarge the vision and the possibilities of alternatives in lifestyle. However, understanding to what extent and how their workload normalizes the conditions of space is crucial to see the possible fractures in “quotidian”.

For Int. 4 the physical constraints of the workplace do not change her perception of the workload. Although she had transferred to a much bigger and more luxurious shopping mall, she does not see a difference in the workload, in fact she is only concerned with the work fellows who she share the cleaning work.

Int.4 It does not matter for me how big or how small it is. Whatever the size, there is a work capacity for everyone anyway. Like, for instance, if two people are required to lift a table, than it should be two people. My working period is 8 hours; I collect dishes or clean the WCs, be it here or there, the work is the same. But here, I dont know.. I don't really find the friends willing and experienced, the other place was small but we were working good together.⁷⁶

⁷⁶Int.4: Büyüklüğü ya da küçüklüğü benim için hiç fark etmez. Zaten bir işyeri ne kadar büyük ya da küçük olsun herkesin yapabileceği bir iş kapasitesi vardır. Bunu nasıl anlatayım, işte masayı iki

For Int. 1 cleaning work and cleanliness represent the way she wanted to grow up. For her “cleanliness” is a symbol of better quality of life.

Int.1 We live in a gecekondü, but the sunlight enters from the window and you can see dust specks everywhere. And I am just sitting there, watching the dust. And I say to myself, “Well E., just think about the flat yesterday and look at this. Look at the dust. The same sun hit that flat as well yesterday.” I did not see such a thing there. It is as if you shine a light, like a rainbow. Our home was obviously full of dust like a rainbow that day. Whatever. Maybe in a week you will have a wedding and sit on nice sofas. Maybe a car, and this gold necklace will be yours as well. I dreamed about this all day long.⁷⁷

Looking at what she states, “cleaning” and cleanliness have a great impact on the way Int.1 experiences the space. Int. 1 expresses how she compares her future husband’s house by looking at the cleanliness of both places. Until that time she did not notice how “dirty” her gecekondü is and how the quality of life might differ. In this regard, she thinks that the tool, which reduces the domestic workload, saves the years of life in poorer condition.

Int.1 My mother has diabetes. I bought a dishwasher for my poor mother, relying on that money. It has been two years, I expanded its maturity and pain bit by bit. When I took the dishwasher to my mother, it was as if I had given her youth back.⁷⁸

The comparison of the living places with the workplace and different time periods of their lives reveals how the interviewees perceive the deprivation. Corresponding to that, Int. 3’s workspace provides a better look at the socio-spatial inequalities and how she perceives them (Figure 5.18). Int. 3 asserts that she lives in a modest house at Yeniköy, and works at a luxurious island, which serves for the high-class celebrities of İstanbul.

kişinin kaldırması gerekiyorsa iki kişi. Benim çalışma saatim 8 saattir, orada da olsa burada da olsa tabak topluyorum ya da WC temizliyorum aynı şey. Ama burda ne biliyim ya burdaki çalışanlar pek istekli durmuyorlar, bi de çok iyi bilmiyorlar sanki. Eski yer küçüktü ama çok iyi çalışırdık birlikte.

⁷⁷Int.1: Evimiz gecekondü ama dışarıdan güneşin ışığı vurmuş, alabildiğine toz görünüyor. Pis ev. Gecekondü... Örümcekler tepende. Ben böyle oturuyorum güneş ışığından tozları süzüyorum. Diyorum ki, “E. ya boşver ya 36 yaşında, dünkü eve bak bugünkü eve bak. Şu toza bak. Dün bu güneş orada da vardı.” Orada ben böyle bir şey görmedim. Hani böyle ışık tutarsın da, gök kuşağı gibi diyim ben sana. Resmen bizim ev gökkuşağı gibi toz o gün. Boşver ya. Bir hafta sonra düğünün olur ne güzel koltuklarda oturursun. Altında araba, bu altın zincir de senin olur. Ben hep onun hayalini kurdum o gün akşama kadar.

⁷⁸Int.1: Annem şeker hastası. Ben her ay o paraya güvenerek anneciğime bulaşık makinası aldım. 2 sene oldu, vadesini uzatarak taksit taksit ödedim... Anneciğime bulaşık makinası götürdüm ya sanki annemin gençliğini anneme geri verdim...



Figure 5.18 : Int.3, I do the worst work at the best workplace.

Int.3 This is what I see from the resting space. Those ducks at the corner belong to the boss. Their lives are better than ours. Nobody can harm them, tell them to move away; they have special nests and food. And this boat stays here and is cleaned and maintained every day even when it does not go anywhere, then the boss calls and gets it prepared for a tour in the Bosphorus with his wealthy guests or the women he selects from the catalogue. And we work breaking our backs here.⁷⁹

The contradiction of her way of life and the conditions she encounters at her work place shape the way she demands equality. She asserts that, the overdose luxurious lifestyle of the rich is only a showcase.

Int.3 I would want everything to be monotonous, with standardized houses; the pleasure people get from these different lives is very different. One may sit in a gecekondu but who knows what one eats, and yes it looks irregular but you cannot walk around these estates, with the security and all. After all we are all humans, why cannot we live standard lives? It is the same meat they eat. But the poor get it once a month, you cannot have it everyday. A cook came here two or three days ago, eating, with a menu in front of him. He was checking the meals as if

⁷⁹Int.3: Bu benim dinlenme yerimden gördüğüm manzara. Şu ördekler var ya köşede, bu ördekler de patronun ördekleri. Onların hayatları bizden iyi. Bunlara hiç kimse zarar veremez, öteye git diyemez, bunlar beslenir, özel yuvaları var köşede yiyecekleri var. Bu tekne de her gün burada durur ve temizlenir, hiçbir yere gitmeyecekse bile her gün bakımı yapılır, sonra patron bir telefonla hemen hazırlatıp zengin misafirleri ya da katalogdan seçtiği kadınlarla boğazda tur atar. Biz de burda köpek gibi çalışırız.

it were an assignment. Chicken something – everything has a weird name. I asked what those were and he told me if you chop the chicken this way it is called something or if you slice it some other way it is called something else. If you have a matchstick on bread that it is high class, if you have butter it is a hobo meal (laughs).⁸⁰

On the contrary Int.4 defines the way of life, spending time and money at the shopping malls as “stupidity”. Instead of envying or criticizing to compare the inequalities, she points at the unnecessary expenditures on unhealthy but expensive food.

Int.4 I think something like this happens to most of them: they think why these people have so much money and why they do not. There are a lot of wannabes around. Like, they are eating hamburgers, this also happened at A.shopping mall, but there was tarhana(a traditional soup) before hamburgers. These fools are spending money on hamburgers, as if it is worth more than tarhana. You eat it and become obese, why do these fools spend so much money on them? At home, you can chop an onion and crack two eggs on it and there is your meal. That’s why since I know myself I am not afraid of Z. or A. shopping malls or even Paris.⁸¹

In addition to that, she finds the luxurious details unnecessary and over-designed (Figure 5.19).

Int.4: At Z. shopping mall, they exaggerated during construction I think, all extravagancy. You have seen the stones, what good are they, you cannot even step on them, it hurts. Or people put their chairs on the stones and they fall down. Okay shopping malls are job opportunities for many people, it is their bread and butter, but all this luxury is unnecessary.⁸²

⁸⁰Int.3: Ben isterdim ki her şey tekdüze, evler standart olsun; insanların bu farklı farklı hayattan aldıkları zevk çok farklı. Tamam o da mesela gecekonduda oturuyordur ama kim bilir ne yiyordur ne içiyordur ya da çarpık bir şeyi var göze de hoş gözükmüyor ama şu sitenin etrafında da dolaşamazsın güvenliği bilmemesi... Sonuçta insanız yani aynı standartta yaşasak ne ki... Yani sonuçta onların yediği de et. Oradaki fakir de ayda bir yiyor yani her gün et de yiyemezsin. 2-3 gün önce buraya bi aşçı geldi yemek yiyor önünde menü var. Ödev verilmiş gibi yiyeceklere bakıyor. Tavuk bilmemne, her şeyin adı değişik. “Bu ne, şu ne” diye sorarken tavuğu şöyle kesince adı bu olur böyle kesince bu olur dedi. Ekmeğin üstüne kürdan koyarsan sosyetik, yağ sürersen amele yemeği oluyor (gülüyor).

⁸¹ Int.4: Yani sanırım çoğunda şöyle bir şey olur tahminim; “ya bu insanların parası niye bu kadar çok işte ben niye alamıyorum” derdi. Özenti çok anlatabiliyor muyum? Yani aslında hamburger yiyorlar ya. Bu A. Avm’de de vardı, hamburger olana kadar eskiden tarhana çorbamız vardı. Hamburgere para veriyor salaklar. Tarhana çorbasından daha değerli yiyorsun obez oluyorsun, salaklar o kadar parayı niye veriyorsunuz ya. Evde bir soğan doğruyorsun üstüne iki yumurta kırıyorsun al sana yemek. O yüzden ben kendimi bildiğim için Z.’den A.’dan Paris’ten bile korkmam.

⁸²Int.4: Z. Avm’de, nasıl anlatayım ya. Aşırı inşaat mı desem, gereksiz abartı yapmışlar, gösteriş. Taşları gördün, taş gereksiz yok ki, basıyorsun ayağın acıyor, bir de ilk işe girdiğimde ayaklarım su topladı o mesela nasıra dönmüş. Ya da mesela adam sandalyeyi koyuyor taş düşüyor. Bilmem, o kadara gerek yok yani, tamam alışveriş merkezi olsun çoğu insan orda çalışıyor, ekmek parasını kazanıyor, mesela A.Avm’de kırsal kesimde en azından bir K. mağazası açılmış, ekmek kapısı



Figure 5.19 : Int.4, Instead of showing so much pomp.

Beyond the comparison of the conditions and the quality, they compare the customers and themselves. She also mentions about the conspicuous consumption as a habit of the customers at the shopping mall.

Int.4 What is important for them is that it is expensive. They buy as if they have to. But it is important to fit in that cloth. You can buy a cheap one but look really beautiful. Infact cheap and the expensive clothes do not have a difference. I learned this in textile business. You buy some clothers from Germany and wear them here. They buy the materials for that fabric from us, they sow it and give it a form, earn a few bucks more,

açılmış, bir F mağazası keza öyle, insanlar kırsal kesimde iş bulmaya başladılar ekmek kapısı. Bu kadar lükse gerek yok yani.

*and sell it to us. I know what comes from where even if I work in front of a computer or in textile or cleaning. I can grasp it.*⁸³

Although she is conscious about the exploitation of labor at the workplaces, she prefers:

*Int.4 The cleaning worker is an issue I think about when I am by myself. A guy rents a store, for example, and A.Z. owns this place. It all goes to his pocket. Then again the store rent at K. shop also goes to him. When you see it like this it is awful. But for the chef, the cleaning worker, the construction worker, all the many people who work there it is their bread and butter, you must see it this way.*⁸⁴

Similarly Int.3 does not only compare the conditions and the qualities of life but also she compares herself with the customers that she sees at the workplace through a more relational and emotional experience.

*Int.3 In these toilets (Figure 5.20), I see women who are stressed out because they are rich and cry. I may have my own problem, I tell you about it and you feel sorry. I see them too; I see so many different things. She cries sobbingly. Or has locked her in the toilet and is having a nervous breakdown, shouting, yelling, and I call security. And then you say what good is money anyway. At least I have the few bucks I earn, or I can handle my problems, they all have a solution. I mean poor or rich, the human psychology is the same for all. I do not think they are very happy at all.*⁸⁵

The interviewees who are working at one of the most luxurious places of consumption and leisure, experience the deprivation in relation with their comparison of the quality of life of the customers. Consequently they either learn from the

⁸³Int.4 Önemli olan onlar için pahalı olması. Sanki almak zorundalarmış gibi satın alıyorlar. Halbuki ucuz ama üstüne yakışan bir şey giymen önemli. Hem ucuzla pahalı olanın ne farkı var? Şu var tekstilde şunu öğrendi; Almanya'dan kıyafet alıp burada giyiyorsun. O kumaşın ham maddesini bizden alıyorlar, onu dikiyorlar şekil veriyorlar, 3-5 kuruş fazlasını kazanıyorlar, onu bize satıyorlar. Bilgisayar başında da oturup çalışsam, tekstilde de temizlikte de neyin nereden geldiğini biliyorum yani. Kavratabiliyorum.

⁸⁴Int.4: Temizlik işçisi zaten düşündüğüm bir konuydu kendi kendime olduğumda. Adam mesela dükkan kir alıyor. A.Z. buranın sahibiymiş. Akşam denetime gelecek dediler. Her şey A.Z.'nin cebine gidiyor. Oradan mesela K.'da dükkan parası adamın cebine gidiyor. Böyle düşündüğün zaman kötü. Ama mesela orada çalışan aşçısı temizlikçisi işçisi ya da bir inşaat işçisi, o kadar çok insan çalışıyor ki, onların ekmek kapısı, öyle düşünmek lazım.

⁸⁵Int.3: Zengin oldukları için çok stresli ağlayan kadınları da görüyorum. Şimdi benim kendi derdim vardır, sana anlatırım sen de üzülürsün. Onları da görüyorum, o kadar farklı şeyler görüyorum ki. Kadın hıçkırma hıçkırma ağlıyor ya da tualetin içine kendisini kitlemiş sinir krizi geçiriyor, haykırıyor bağırıyor, güvenliği falan çağırıyorum. Diyorsun ki yani paranın ne önemi var. Hiç olmazsa aldığım üç kuruşum var, ya da derdimi halledebiliyorum, çözümü var. Yani insan olan her yerde parası olsun olmasın, insan psikolojisi aynı. Onların çok mutlu olduklarını hiç zannetmiyorum.

workplace, envy or criticize their everyday socio-spatial practices by looking at the customers and spatially constructed qualities of their environment at the workplace.



Figure 5.20 : Int.3, What good is money anyway?

5.2.2.2 Socio-spatial inequalities and deprivation

For Int.1 her workspace provides an understanding of lifestyle within each and every scale of public space. No matter how individual boundaries do exist within home, neighborhood and the city, through a limited window view she sees the class differences, spatial inequalities embedded in everyday life (Figure 5.21).

Int.1 This is the window of the meeting room that I clean on the top floor of the school. I love watching Beşiktaş and the sea from here. That tall building kills the scenery, I do not like it. I sometimes think why the rich have places to live there and I do not. See the place with the white curtains near that apartment in the corner? I keep track of that place, I hope they are on holiday now. A couple, husband and wife, with white hair lives there, it is a neat place. And you know why I think so? Because the man always reads Cumhuriyet and the woman has such a negligee. I envy them a lot. When I cannot see them, I imagine their lives. Or how

*my life would be if it were something like that. So such kind of an emotional connection is formed between us like that. I also like Beşiktaş a lot; I wish we had a place here. But then I realize there is not even one tree to sit by its shadow and rest, not like a street of my hometown.*⁸⁶



Figure 5.21 : Int. 1, View from the workplace.

On the contrary, Int. 2 lives much more individually and mechanized compared to the others. Although her connection with the nature is much stronger than the others, her qualification of socio-spatial injustices are related with social rights and security rather than the accessibility to the socio-spatial features of the city.

Int.2: I shot this to show the clouds. It is from the balcony of the house. I do not use it that often because it is always dirty, we clean it but it gets dirty. And there is a slope here, all green, the one I like. There are too

⁸⁶Int.1: Burası bizim okulun üst katında benim temizlediğim toplantı odasının penceresi. Çok severim buradan bakmayı Beşiktaş'a, denize. Şu büyük bina denizin manzarasını kesiyor, hoşlanmıyorum. "Neden orada zenginlerin yeri var da ben kalamıyorum" diyorum bazen. Buradan bakınca şu köşedeki apartmanın olduğu yerde perdesi örtülü yer var ya... Şimdi takip ediyorum, umarım tatil dedirler. Bir karı koca yaşıyor, beyaz saçlı; temiz nezih bir yer. Onu da nereden anlıyorum biliyor musun? Adam hep Cumhuriyet okuyor, kadının böyle bir sabahlığı var. Çok özeniyorum onlara. Bazen göremiyorsam hayal kuruyorum onların hayatlarıyla ilgili ya da benim hayatım öyle olsa nasıl olurdu diye özeniyorum. Aramızda böyle böyle duygusal bir bağ kuruldu. Beşiktaş'ı da çok seviyorum, keşke şurada da bizim bir yerimiz olsaydı. Ama sonra bakıyorum gölgesinin altında dinlenecek bir ağacı yok, benim mahallem sokağı gibi değil.

*many buildings, they could be shorter and with less floors and with some greenery. I like it that way.*⁸⁷

When I asked her about the view (Figure 5.22) from her home and the quality of environment she lives in, she responded as;

*Int.2: I like this place; I do not have the habit of looking around and checking who lives how and what do they do. They are people too, let God grant them more, I do not fear anyone but God. But if someone strips me of my rights, I oppose.*⁸⁸



Figure 5.22 : Int.1, view from the balcony.

For Int.8, the deprived parts next to her workplace (residence) do not really bother her. She asserts that the deprivation is a problem of the landlords living in the residences.

Int.8: There are derelict buildings. There are glue-sniffers there. Maybe that is why they are taking it down. I do not know if they will try to change the surroundings of the residence that much, and I do not know if the people at the residence are disturbed. We need to ask the landlords; they will experience all the good or bad results. It does not bother me

⁸⁷ Int.2: Bunu bulutları göstermek için çektim. Evin balkonundandır. Çok çıkmam pis olur, temizleriz ama pistir balkon. Bir de şurada bir yamaç vardır yeşillik, hani sordun ya hoşuna giden yer diye... Çok bina vardır, biraz daha alçak katlı, yeşillikli olabilirdi onu düşündüm. Ben seviyorum öyle.

⁸⁸ Int.2: Yani ben seviyorum burayı, hani öyle etrafıma bakıp da kim nasıl yaşıyor ne yapıyor diye sorma huyum da yoktur. Onlar da insandır, Allah çok versin, Allah'tan başka hiçbir şeyden korkmam da ben. Ama birisi hakkımı yerse orda karşı çıkarım.

*much. Since it is the place I work, I would come here even it were in the desert.*⁸⁹

By contrast with Int.2 and Int.8, apparently, Int.5 is well equipped with socially and practically constructed class discrimination and spatial inequalities. Int.5 is a distinctive woman working at a hospital as a contract-cleaning worker. She is divorced and lives with her two sons. In consequence of a struggle and an organized resistance act against an unfair dismissal of the contract workers, she asserts that her life is divided into two parts; before the resistance and after the resistance. Although it is hard to compare the change in her life between the “before” and “after resistance”, I assume that the organization of the workers and back to work movement widened her vision in understanding the everyday far beyond the workload, domestic work and their repetition. Her work and workplace became the center of her struggle through the socially constituted workers resistance (Figure 5.22).



Figure 5.23 : Int.5, View from the meeting.

⁸⁹ Int.8: Dökülüyor orası. Orada bildiğin tinerci, ben sabah 8:00’de geldiğimde tinerci çocuk çekiyordu yani. Belki de orayı temizlemek için yıkıyorlar. Hani bilmiyorum çevresiyle çok fazla oynarlar mı? Rahatsız olurlar mı bilmiyorum. Rezidanstaki mülk sahiplerine sormak lazım. 3 tane bina dikilmiş sonuçta. Zararını da yararını da onlar görür. Bana göre hava hoş. Çölde de olsa çalıştığım yer diyip gidiyorum sonuçta.

On the other hand the consciousness stems from her struggle, has affected her daily practices according to their “usability “ and “functionality”. She feels restless when she is not doing something useful.

Int.5: I need to do certain activities, I need to feel that I am of use to people. That feels good. I am not talking about coming together and going to the movies or just killing time. You can of course do that from time to time but when you go, you need to feel useful. When I do not, I cave in without realizing and I do not know why I do not feel good.⁹⁰

The perception of socio-spatial inequalities is a significant variable, which uncovers the possibility of thinking for a better quality of life. Either learning from the space that they are exposed to at work or comparison threatens the blindfields⁹¹ which are unseen but existing in the concrete reality of “quotidian”.

Int.6: To provide for Efe’s education, and if he does not want to be educated let him work at an early age, that is to break him, let him be broken in life so that he knows what life really is, let him struggle. But of course I would do anything for his education (Figure 5.23). The kids of wealthy families are never broken, they never even work, sometimes. I sometimes think why my kids cannot be like that, but it is no good if you do not work and just wander around. You know nothing, you do not know what work is, what life struggle is, what earning means, what honest pay means, in fact. I envy but also do not, I say this is enough, let there be no more, they would go awry if there were more. When I say awry I do not mean it in a bad way, they will not know what being broken is, what working is, they will squander away, wander about all the time, will spend more and more. I sometimes think if I were rich my kids would not work, they will just spend. And one day when I go bankrupt, the fall is too sharp, a horrible thing. They will not be working, they will not know what to do, how to stand on their own feet. Very bad in a way, so I say let it be like what it is.⁹²

⁹⁰Int.5: Belirli faaliyetlerde bulunmam lazım, insanlara gerçekten bir işe yaradığımı hissetmem lazım. O zaman iyi geliyor. Bir araya gelip de boş boş zaman geçiriyorum, işte sinemaya gidiyorum falan bu değil yani. Tamam ara sıra yapılır zaten ama gittin mi bir işe yaradığımı hissetmem gerekiyor. Onu hissetmediğim zaman modum düşüyor farkında olmuyorum ama neden kendimi iyi hissetmediğimi anlayamıyorum.

⁹¹Lefebvre refers to an urban society which is a “virtual” object This virtuality, the urban itself is a ‘blank... a dark moment... a blind field’ (2003, p.26). Blindfields as Lefebvre describes; “not merely dark and uncertain...but blind in the sense that there is a blind spot on the retina” (2003, p.29) It remains in the everyday which is often unperceived.

⁹²Int.6: Efe’yi okutmak, okumazsa da bile küçük yaşta çalıştırmak, ezmek yani, onu hayatta ezmek, ezilsin ki hayatın ne olduğunu anlasın, mücadele etsin hayatta ama tabi ki okuması için elimden gelen herşeyi yaparım. Mesela çok daha varlıklı ailelerin çocukları var, onlar hiç ezilmiyorlar aslında. Benim çocuklarım niye böyle olmasın diye düşünüyorum. Bazen bakıyorum çalışmadan boş gezmekle de olmuyor, nereye kadar. Hiçbir şey bilmiyorsun, çalışmanın ne olduğunu bilmiyorsun, hayatta neyin mücadeleye ettiğini bilmiyorsun, kazancın ne olduğunu bilmiyorsun, helalin ne olduğunu bilmiyorsun daha doğrusu. Bir yandan imreniyorum bir yandan da imrenmiyorum, yeterli diyorum, fazlası



Figure 5.24 : Int.6, He should be oppressed to understand what life is.

Int.3: I swear you could feed a town. All those animal shelters... Everything will be scraped and thrown away in sacks. They do not say send these to here and those to there. A buyer for anything would come if they just asked it. But no, these people do not change. They have tasted it once and they will never give up. Everyone says if I won the lottery I would give this much to my relatives and all. What will you want if you really win it tomorrow? You will selfishly want to put all of it in a bank. It is something you experience at that moment, maybe we will keep all of it. We do not know, we have not experienced it. I do not have that many trillions but I still care for people. I give if a friend who works at nights needs it, telling "you can give back at this time" and all. I will manage somehow(Figure 5.24).⁹³

olmasın, fazlası oldu mu sapıtlılar. Gerçekten sapıtlılar diye düşünüyorum, sapıtlılar deyince hani yanlış anlamda değil, şöyle söyleyim; ezilmenin ne olduğunu bilmeyecekler, çalışmanın, har vurup harman savuracaklar, orası senin burası benim sürekli gezecekler, daha çok para yeme. Bazen düşünüyorum; zengin olsam diyorum çocuklarım çalışmayacaklar, ha bire yiyecekler dışarıda. Bir gün bir şey oldu, iflas ettim veya param bitti, yüksekten alçağa düşüyorsun, ne kadar kötü bir durum. Çalışamayacaklar, ne yapacaklarını bilemeyecekler, ayakları üstünde durabileceklerini bilemeyecekler. Bir yandan da çok kötü, boşver böyle iyi diyorum yani.

⁹³Int.3:Yemin ediyorum bir ilçe doyar. Bütün o hayvan barınaklar... Çuvallarla her şey sıyrılıp çöpe atılacak. İnsan olsa şunları şuraya gönderin bunlar buraya. Bir laflarıyla her bir şeyin alıcısı gelir. Ama yok o insanlar değişmezler. Çünkü onun tadını öyle bir almışlar ki ondan vazgeçmezler. Şimdi herkes der ya sana piyangodan para çıksa su kadarını akrabama veririm şu kadarını şuna verirsin. Şimdi yarın çıksa ne yapacaksın? Belki hepsini bencilce bankaya koymak isteyeceksin. O an yaşadığın bir şey belki hepsine sahip çıkamaz kimseye bir şey vermeden. Yaşamadık bilmiyoruz. Benim o kadar trilyonlarım yok yapıyorum insanlara. Geceden bir arkadaşım sıkınca veriyorum. Şu tarihte verirsin diye .bi şekilde bi şeyler yaparım.



Figure 5.25 : Int.3, View from the dining hall.

5.3 Spaces of Reproduction

5.3.1 Home

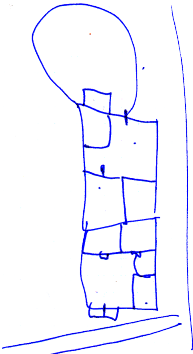
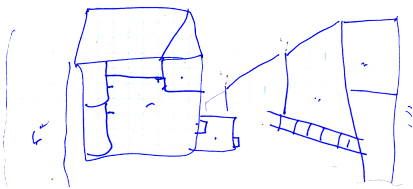
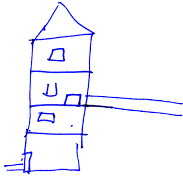
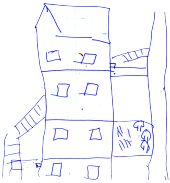
Eda Yücesoy(2006)remarks the Maslow’s hierarchy of human needs; where “home” is represented as the fulfillment of a certain deficiency. Home does not only provide a shelter but also it remains as a unit of safety, stability and control in individuals’ life. It is regarded as a center of the family and certain intimate relations, love and belonging. Besides it becomes an indicator of social status. In result the house ownership contributes to a positive self-esteem gained by the success of appropriation and by recognition from others (as cited in Yücesoy, 2006)

According to Yucesoy(2006), parallel to these fundamental characteristics, home represents the appropriation of cognitive and aesthetic needs for self-realization and it refers to a space of self expression. It is regarded as a personal space to defend and a social unit where intimate and close relationships emerge in the family. On the other hand, home might be represented as the place of imprison shaped by the power relations in the family for women while it might become a social place for the inhabitants’ social engagement in neighborhoods as well. In addition to this, home is a separated intimate space where its inhabitants are protected from the public

impersonal outside (Madanaipour,2003). Considering the altering definitions and meanings of home, Aksu Bora states that understanding the diverse representations of home without limiting its meaning to a “prison” or a “shelter” is crucial to understand what “turning back home” and “leaving/ escaping from home” mean as daily practices which shape our life.

Table 5.1 shows the mental maps of the houses which are drawn by Int.4. The detail and the tools of representation simply reveal to what extend house becomes central in her life.

Table 5.1: Int.4’s mental map of the housing mobility

First gecekondu in İstanbul, in-laws house	First gecekondu in İstanbul, Parents House	Apartments built over gecekondus
		
		In-laws apartment
		
		Parents apartment
Limited detail: Less centrality with home	High detail with a combination of tools for representation(plan,perspective,facade)	House is represented only as a building block

The first house she moved in, belongs to her in-laws. However she expresses that it was not like her place, that’s why she just draw a simple plan of the house. On the other hand her parent’s house, where most of her daily practices took place, gives much more information about the life of its “inhabitants”. While she was drawing she combined the front and plan view, in order to describe her life in one simple image. The apartment blocks represent her new way of life after gecekondu, while she still longs for the garden in front of the house. Consequently she limited her

representation with a front view and drew reluctantly without giving any detail of her way of life.

Considering the interviews and my observations in interviewees' houses and their mental maps, one could easily understand the position of home in an interviewee's life. I observed that the position of home in one's life is significantly affected by the capitalist modes of production and its realization in the city, to what extent one is in struggle with the public and especially private patriarchy, and the culturally structured uses of public space. On the other hand, in consequence of the workload both at home and work, female service workers are pulled away from the public open spaces. Therefore the everyday practices are either centralized at home or the workplace with its immediate surroundings. The shift in these centralities is crucial to understand their attitudes towards the city.

Centrality of home vs. city in a woman's life time

For some of the interviewees, the appropriation of home appeals to more than having a shelter in a city. It also reflects a success story. The possession of a "proper" house does not only appear in their ideals as an economic asset or guarantee to survive, but also it represents the struggle of "inhabiting" to sustain in urban life. In result the "home" becomes an individual success, a representation of political identity, and a station where the necessary breaks takes place in daily cycle (as cited in Edgü,2011). Furthermore it delineates the spatial and emotional centrality of "home" in their urban daily life. By contrast, the ones who have a role change in gender (especially the ones which are not married or divorced) experiences a shift in their central public and private encounters towards the workplace and its immediate surrounding

Cleanliness and struggle: accomplishment for a woman

The poorer conditions of unclean and unhealthy environments in *gecekondu*s are significant variables in interviewees' definition of "home" and "living" today. In addition, the ownership of a house remains as an economic asset and guarantee to sustain their living. For some of the interviewees, the representation of home correlated with the middle class lifestyle and their gender roles according to the centrality of home in their daily cycle. The places that they escape from the routine of everyday activities remains in their private spaces of home, instead of public open

spaces. Home as a central phenomenon of one's daily life, extends itself in former gecekondu neighborhoods through their social networks.

This, in fact, points out the historical evolution of urbanization in Turkey. Many of the interviewees have experienced the second wave of inner migration in 70s, which resulted in living in self-constructed gecekondus with poorer conditions. Thus the "cleanliness" is a crucial attribute for living in a house. The "cleanliness" is an obsession for all the interviewees.

*Int.2: I love working, and I love this job, indeed cleaning job is just for me. If they tell me now to have a boring office job, sitting at a desk all day and counting people for example, I would get bored. I would probably think to go and see if the bathrooms are filthy or not.*⁹⁴

In result, 7 of them do really like and also appreciate their work. However this obsession is not necessarily related to their previous poorer experiences in gecekondu except for Int.1.

Int.1 explains her "home" based practices and the physical order of the house as a victory considering the unclean and unhealthy conditions of her childhood. Her struggle for building her new apartment, the kitchen and the maintenance of home, recover a significant role in her and her family's emotional and spatial centrality of life. She explains how the transformation of gecekondu defines the survival of her family.

*Int.1: I opened my eyes there, I had my first lice in my hair, went to my first school there and when I was a bride I had my wedding there. Two years after I left there, my brothers grew up, my father continues to work in construction and my mom continued saving money. With the help of my brothers my family now owns a five-storey apartment there.*⁹⁵

Depending on the conditions of the gecekondu she was born in, Int.1 points out how her life has changed after she moved into her in-laws' gecekondu. The spatial attributes and ascribed meanings to them still remain in her memory as "unclean" and "agonizing" properties.

⁹⁴Int.2: Ben çalışmayı severim de... İşi çok seviyorum, hele temizlik işi tam benim işim. Bana şimdi "bi masa başında otur da geleni gideni bir say bakalım" deseler ben sıkılırım orda. Ben "bi tuvalete bakayım da kirli mi diye kontrol edeyim" derim.

⁹⁵Int.1: Ben ilk gözümü açtığım zaman da ordaydım, kafama bit düştüğü zaman da ordaydım, ilkokula başladığımda da ordaydım, gelin oldum ordan çıktım. Ben ordan çıktıktan iki sene sonra abimler de büyüdü, babam inşaatta çalışa çalışa, annem altın günlerine gire gire, abimlerin de sayesinde babamların orda şu anda 5 katlı apartman var.

Int.1: The first squatter (gecekondu) I arrived at was more beautiful than the one I had left. It had 4 rooms and got plenty of daylight from every façade. At least it didn't have rats, sewer rats...there wasn't the smell of barns because there weren't any barns around. Plus, the roof of the house wasn't leaking. The squatter that I had left on the other hand was a three-room place. With an open yard where two rooms and one room on sides. There was willow tree in the yard with a swing tied to it. We used to play there when we were happy, but cried a lot, we were beaten up and suffered in that yard as well.⁹⁶

She also witnessed her parents and in-laws building the places they live in and how one-storey village type houses had been transferred into five-storey apartment buildings. In a way she experienced this transformation process as an opportunity to build her house in the way she dreamed of. Thus for her, the transformation of the new apartment buildings out of gecekondu structures brought about “cleanliness” and “healthy environment”.

Int.1: This is my living room (Figure 5.26 , where I share everything. I love my home a lot. I came here from a house with barn scent, sewer rats, spiders where the roof leaks in rainy days and never heated when it is winter. I built up this place by myself. I put lots of effort to turn this place into a home, my home. This is my house. I worked a lot, earned my wage and rushed back to my house without spending any money outside for my basic needs sometimes. My next door neighbors are my witnesses; I saved every cent of my earnings on this place. This is my house. With a strong persistence and determination, I made my own house myself.⁹⁷

⁹⁶Int.1: İlk gittiğim gecekondu benim geldiğim gecekondundan çok güzeldi. 4 odalıydı. Güneş alıyordu her tarafı. Enazından fare yoktu. Lağım fareleri... Ahır kokusu yoktu, bu tarafta ahır yoktu... Artı çatısı akımıyordu. Öbürü 3 odaydı... Bi de bizim üstü açık, 2 oda ayrı 1 oda surda...ortasında söğüt ağacı vardı... Üstü açıktı asmalı konak dizisindeki gibi.. söğüt ağacında sallangacımız. Mutlu olduğumuzda sallanıyorduk ama o ağacın gövdesinde çok ağladık, çok dayak yedik..çok çektik.

⁹⁷Int.1: Bu benim salonum her şeyimi paylaştığım salonum.evimi çok seviyorum örümcekli ahır kokulu fareli yağmur yağınca suyu akan kış olunca ısınmayan bir evden buraya geldim benim bu evi bu hale getirmemde benim tırnaklarımın içinde dahi emeğim var bu evi ben alnımın terini böyle sile sile ben bu evi bu hale getirdim yaptım. bu ev benim. çalıştım aylığımı aldım susuzluktan öldüm yeri geldi evime gidene kadar tuvalete gidemedim sıkıştım. Ama ben aylığımı bölüp bir lira dahi harcamadan evime geliyordum kapı komşum arkadaşım şahit. Bu ev benim. bir iddia uğruna bir inat uğruna ben evimi bu hale getirdim.

Table 5.2: Int.1's mental map of residential mobility

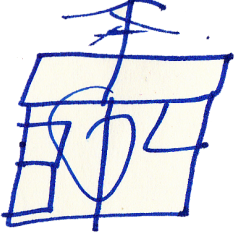
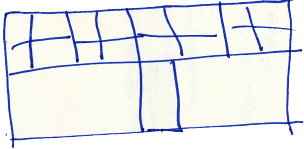
Parents gecekundu: First gecekundu	In-laws gecekundu: Second house
	
Plan and Front view: Courtyard with a tree	Plan and Front view : Large windows and large rooms



Figure 5.26 : Int.1, My living room, my success...

She created of her own space with an effort of obtaining a clean environment persisting on changing her and her children's lives by changing the quality of her living place. Thus maintaining the home as the way she dreamed became the basic struggle of her life.

5.3.1.1 Privacy at home: places of escape

Madanipour describes the private sphere as a “hidden space of consciousness” which lies inside the body of individuals thus the personal space becomes a portable attribute which remains around the body while shaping the individuals everyday experiences (Madanipour,2013). However, for some of the interviewees, the everyday as “quotidienne” embeds the individuals, private and intimate places of escape into their “home”.

*Int.1: This is the view of my balcony(Figure 5.27). I wish to be as free as the birds, they are flying away now. Women are always second-rate, me too as a Turkish woman. For example, although I have kids to look after, I still want to live a day of my own when I get tired, a day with full of its goods and bads. Why do people think that when you let someone free she becomes unfaithful? What I want is to have a free day of my own where I feel as free as this bird, live, cry and laugh as much as I want. Or do nothing but only have a day of my own. I am 38 now, and I have never had a day of my own, never lived for myself, I always lived according to some other's rules. But these birds don't have those worries. I am jealous of them. I swear, I feel miserable sometimes and envy these birds in the sky. The sky is the best thing this earth has and that's why I get jealous of the birds. The sky is beautiful; however the earth is polluted by people....Some people prefer going to the seashore to have rest. However, when I come back home from the work, and have a cup of coffee or tea, sitting in the balcony and watching the sky...every night..especially in summer nights, I watch the sky and sunset. The birds fly away as 2-3 member groups..or crowds of birds, and this is my pleasure.*⁹⁸

⁹⁸Int.1: Bu da balkonumdan gök yüzünün görüntüsü. Bir kere kuşlar gibi özgür olmak isterdim, şu anda kuşlar gidiyor. Kadınlar hep ikinci plandadır ya ben de ikinci plandayım tabii ki, Türk kadınıyız. Mesela ben çocuklarım da olsa yorulmuş di mi... Kendime ait bir günü iyisiyle kötüsüyle acısıyla tatlısıyla yaşamak istiyorum. İlla insan bir özgür bırakıldığında namussuzluğa mı gider? Ben diyorum ki bana özel bir gün olsun şu kuş gibi özgür olsam ben de doya doya yaşasam, ağlayacaksam ağlayayım, güleceksem de güleyim. Hiçbirini yapmayım, kendim için bir gün... Ama maalesef 38 yaşımdayım, hiç kendim için yaşamadım. Bana ait özel bir günüm olmadı. Hep hayatım birilerine odaklı işte, “el ne der”, “görürler duyarlar”... Ama kuşların öyle bir kaygısı yok. Gökyüzünden o kuşları kıskanıyorum. Beni efkar basarsa yemin ediyorum deli diyeceksen de. Ama şu gök yüzünden kuşları kıskanıyorum. Çünkü yeryüzünün en güzel şeyi bence gökyüzü. Çünkü alt tarafı, bence insanlar kirletmiş. Altta bir sürü değişik değişik insan iyisi kötüsü, hırlısı hırsızı, yolsuzu, senin dost dediğin insan sana kazık atıyor ama gök yüzünde o yok... Berrak tertemiz. Sadece kuşlara ait. Özgür. Kimse kimseye karışmıyor, onlar ne kadar iç içe de gitse dikkat et birbirlerine çarpmadan gidiyorlar. Ama ben şimdi bir otobüs durağına gitsem kadın veya erkek beni iteklemekle uğraşacak... Ya insanın beyni kuş kadar yok. Kuşları kıskanıyorum, gök yüzünden kıskanıyorum. Bir de böyle bakınca seyrettiğim zaman haz duyuyorum beni rahatlatıyor. Hani bazısı der ki sahile gideyim biraz rahatlıyayım. Oysaki ben işimden evime gittiğim zaman elime çayımı ya da kahvemi alıp balkona oturup şu anı seyrettiğim zaman her gece, yaz gecelerinde bu mutlaka olur, her gece hep gökyüzünü seyrederim, güneşin batışını izlerim. Kuşlar güneş batarken üzer beşer göç eder. Ya da sürü sürü kuş... Zevk alırım, bu da benim bir zevkim.

Although it is a place of mediation between the public outside and the private inside, “the balcony” creates a place to defend her individual mental tranquility. Thus it becomes a space of escape and emancipation for Int 1. The trouble of being in the public and the crowd she encounters at her everyday life, forces her to stay inside where the center of her struggle remains.

On the other hand the privacy is not necessarily related with the centrality of home or the struggle of possessing a home. For Int.4, home is not as central as Int.1 However, taking care of the pigeons in front of her window is expressed as the only thing she refers to her home, which separates her from the public intercourses.



Figure 5.27 : Int.1, I envy the birds flying.

*Int.4: Ayy these are my daughters (Figure 5.28). Everyday, even if it snows I feed them with bread. I give them water as well but their water pot fell down, because of the wind. Being busy with them in the mornings make me feel good, I feel relieved.*⁹⁹

⁹⁹Int.4: Ayy benim kızlarım bunlar. Her gün kar da yağsa onlara ekmek veriyorum. Su da veriyordum da düşmüş aşağıya. Rüzgar uçuruyor. İyi geliyor bana sabahları onlarla ilgilenmek, ne bileyim rahatlıyorum.

Home at the very most intimate scale, represents the identity of its inhabitants. It divides the stranger and the familiar (Yücesoy,2006). Although it would be illusory to see the home as an entire unit of isolation, it is observed that the emotional and spatial centrality is reflected on the private use of the home by the interviewees. It is represented as the places of escape for some of them. Their balconies, terraces or windows become the stations of the necessary breaks of quotidienne.



Figure 5.28 : Int.4, My daughters, make me feel good.

5.3.1.2 Presentation of self

Photos referring to home do not only stand for displaying the use and significance of place but also they refer to the presentation of interviewees' ideologies or lifestyles. The most common places of home become the showcases of self-representation. The symbolic importance of Mustafa Kemal and the republican ideology occupies a considerable place in her and her family's life. Likewise Mustafa Kemal, for Alevi families, the symbols of Alevi identity is another common attribute to their living rooms.

Int.1: Besides, we shouldn't forget Atatürk, I specifically bought this corner, and it is indispensable. My children have grown up with it. We have Atatürk pictures and authors, writing on him every one corner of

*our house. I was a republic child, a republican girl and now I am a republic woman.*¹⁰⁰

On the other hand in Int.4's living room (Figure 5.29), the family photos on the wall reflect a contradictory representation. Although she expresses that she is not really bothered with her low quality of life and home, the photos on the wall have the mimetic image of luxurious life with a photo montaged family photo in front of expensive furniture.



Figure 5.29 : Int.4, Our Family Collage.

¹⁰⁰Int.1: Ayrıca Atatürk'ü de es geçmeyelim, özellikle aldım bu köşeyi, bu olmadan asla. Çocuklarım bununla büyüdü. Bizim evin her köşesinde Atatürk resimlerimiz, yazarlarımız vardır. Ben cumhuriyet çocuğuyum, cumhuriyet kızım, şu anda da cumhuriyet kadınıyım.

5.3.1.3 Possession: to own a house in İstanbul

Home ownership is one of the most important conditions, which delineates the interviewees' quality of life. While five of them are living at owner occupied houses, three of them are tenants. The significance of home ownership is either expressed as the self-guarantee or the struggle of living in İstanbul.

*Int.8: I started with a very low wage. It was 200-250 something. I mean, it was my lowest salary. I was giving all my earning to my mom and dad. In those days my wage was either spent for the rent or the market expenses. It was a deep resentment for me (giving away all my earning for house expenses) That's why I never want to rent a place and be a tenant.*¹⁰¹

Int. 8 was living in a rental house with her parents until she got married. Now, even though she does not like the design or the use of her place she admits and regards the ownership of a house as economic security. She wants to feel that her labour is not a waste of money for paying the rents.

*Int.8: The shape of our house is a bit different. There are two windows facing outside. One is the kitchen and the other is the bedroom. There are no other rooms having daylight. As I mentioned before, I used to live in a place like that, I was going crazy, I even furnished a room for kids but I bit his head off because of this. At the end of the day, it is my house. One day, I had a terrible nightmare where they took away my house and told me that I wasn't allowed to live in my house anymore. I woke up crying. Then, I say, I don't mind if it is dark or not, it is my house.*¹⁰²

Moreover, owning a house is highly related with their parents' or in laws' experience of self-constructed gecekondu. The transformation of one level village type houses into four or five-storey apartment blocks serves a flat for each member of the family. In result, the former lives of married couples with parents become much more separated and isolated which let them free from the pressure of the family. Besides

¹⁰¹Int.8: Ama zamanında ilk maaşımı aldığım zaman çok ufak para ile başladım. 200 mü 250 mi neydi... Hani en az maaşım oydu. Onunla başladığım için maaşı direk anneme babama veriyordum. O zaman maaş ya kiraya gidiyordu, ya o zaman bakkala veresiye vardı ona gidiyordu. Çok zoruma giderdi. O yüzden kirada oturmayı hiç istemem.

¹⁰²Int.8: Bizim evin şekli biraz değişik. Dışarıya bakan iki tane cam var. Biri mutfak birisi de yatak odası. Başka yer aydınlık falan olmadığı için... Ben anlattım ya öyle bir odada yaşadım. Ben öyle bir çocuk odası yaptım, iyice dellendim. O ev yüzünden ben çok başının etini yemişimdir eşimin ya. Ama sonuçta benim evim. Bir keresinde rüyamda evimi elimden alıyorlar, diyorlar ki "sen bir daha o evde kalma". Böyle nasıl ağlayarak uyandım. "Hayır ya" diyorum "ne olursa olsun orası benim evim".

emancipation from the oppression in the extended family, living at their own space brought about the ability to design their own place (Figure 5.30).

Int.1: During the first 8 years of my marriage, we lived together with my mother in-law. That place wasn't like our squatter house. It had tiles, marbles and cupboards.. It was a single storey place with no balcony but a nice beautiful entry. After then, it turned into a 4 storey family apartment. My sister in-law used to live upstairs and dust her carpets from the upper balcony. Then, we added another storey over the building, by which we had a 145-meter square flat. I found the developer myself and had the house built as the way I wanted. I chose these cupboards with every single detail myself. I bought this water refinement device myself, with great difficulty in installments, we used to drink rainwater once, but now my children drink the purified tab water.¹⁰³



Figure 5.30 : Int.1, I designed each and every corner of this kitchen.

Like Int.1, Int.8 also had a chance to adapt her flat according to the needs of her family, while other women who migrated to Istanbul for marriage or work did not have the chance of physical and social adaptation.

¹⁰³Int.1: Evliliğimin ilk 8 senesi kayınımlan birlik oturduk. Orası bizim gecekondü gibi değildi. Fayanslı mermerli dolaplı... Tek katlıydı, balkonu yoktu ama kapının önü balkon gibiydi... Çok güzeldi. Sonra önce 4 katlı aile apartmanı oldu, elim üstümde oturuyordu halı silkerdi. Sonra bir kat daha çıktık, 145 metre kare dairem oldu. Müteahhiti kendim getirdim, istediğim gibi yaptırdım. Bu dolapları kulpuna kadar ben seçtim. Burda özellikle bu su arıtma makinesini de göstermek istedim... Taksitle zamanın parasıyla dışımdan tırnağımdan arttırdım aldım. Biz yağmur suyu içerdik şimdi çocuklarım musluktan akan suyu arıtıp da içiyor.

*Int.8: There is a balcony here, which we added later. It is together with the bedroom, like this, narrow but long. It is a mezzanine balcony, we built it later. We needed it, in winter we didn't use it much but then we needed.*¹⁰⁴

The ability to transform their living space can also be recognized in the social relations and their neighborhood. The ones who are born in Istanbul (whose parents migrated to Istanbul and built their *gecekondus*) do own a house. Although ownership may not be considered as a significant variable in interviewees' participation in public life, the participation in the process of transformation becomes an important impact on their appropriation of space. Therefore I assert that they are much more integrated in the public space rather than the ones who came for marriage or work after their 20s.

The role of participation in the production processes of space and physical environment can be read through the experiences of Int. 8:

*Int.8: If they tear down this, probably Ali Ağaoğlu would build up 3-5 new apartment buildings and sell them off. It is inevitable and helpless. My parents fortunately kept there away from demolition. There were several movements. Once, there was again a demolition project. Years ago but... People could fight back then. The police beat them up but they resisted. But, I don't know if I can resist it now. Because, I didn't do it then, the ones who built this neighborhood, such as my mother, put a lot of effort on developing their home space and fight back to the police to stop the demolition. But I didn't do any of these, so I won't be able to think like them.*¹⁰⁵

On the other hand women living in their own houses do have a chance of income related social mobility with the increased quality of life. While Int.1 is talking about her mother's house and her living conditions she reveals that the apartment flat brought about much more qualified and easy life (Figure 5.31).

Int.1: When I was growing up, we didn't have a house like this. Now, my parents are living in an apartment and I feel grateful for them. I wish I could grow up in a flat like that. This picture reminds me of this, I wish it was my mother could have a house like this when she was 40. She would

¹⁰⁴Int.8: Burada sonradan yaptırdığımız bir balkonum var. Yatak odasıyla bir. Dar ama uzun bir balkon var. Asma balkon bunu sonradan yaptırdık. Lazım oldu, kullanılmıyordu kışın.

¹⁰⁵Int.8: Yıksalar da zaten büyük bir ihtimal Ali Ağaoğlu dike böyle 3-5 tane bina, satar, yani... Yapacak bir şey yok. Orayı yine bizimkiler kaç sene oldu ve yine iyi, yıktırmadan durabilmişler yani. Çok olaylar oldu, bir zamanlar yine böyle yıkım olayı oldu. Ama kaç yıl önceydi. O zamanın insanlar baş etti. Gerekirse polisten dayak yediler de. Ama şimdi mesela ben durur muyum düşünürüm. Çünkü niye, ben yapmadım, yapan kadın diyelim annem, o zaman niye... Polisten dayak yemiş. Gelmiş, uğraşmış, temeli o koymuş ama ben o kadar düşünmeyebilirim.

*clean it, would be at ease, in a place with natural gas heating and she wouldn't have worn out this much. This is my mother's living room, the window sees the street. Our squatter was here but not like this. In Gazi Neighbourhood, my mother finally had this flat on the second floor, but she was 70 then, and was too old. Now, her daughter in-law helps her. I sometimes visit her for cleaning. I am happy for her. She is 70 years old but after all she has a decent house.*¹⁰⁶



Figure 5.31 : Int.1, My mother's house at her 70.

The prominence of the centrality of home is one of the main attributes of women's life. Although it appears as a barrier between public encounters and individual experiences, the emotional and spatial centrality of home offers varieties of spatial practices related with the social configuration of the neighborhood. On the other hand I observe that the success of "building a nest" enables the urbanist to think about the participation of women in the production of space through domestic transformations within the public space.

¹⁰⁶Int.1: Benim annemlerin evi ben büyürken böyle bir evimiz yoktu. Şu anda annemler dairede oturuyor, onların adına çok seviniyorum ama keşke ben böyle bir evde büyüseydim... Bu resim bana bunu anlatıyor. Keşke şu anda bu ev annemin 40 yaşındaki evi olsaydı. Annem silerdi camı, annem bunların altını silerdi... Şu doğalgaz olsaydı annem daha rahat ederdi, belki annem bu kadar yıpranmazdı. Bu annemin salonu. Pencere caddeneye bakıyor, işte bizim gecekondumuz burdaydı ama bu şekil değildi. Gazi Mahallesi'nde bu ikinci katta annem 70 yaşında ev sahibi oldu ama annemin pili bitti. Şimdi gelinimiz yardımcı oluyor. Ben gidiyorum temizliğe ama ben şimdi annemin adına çok mutluyum. 70 yaşında da olsa düzenli bir eve sahip oldu.

5.3.2 Public life as an extension of privacy

In result of the interviews, I observed that the interviewees' public life between places of living and working is either extremely limited or articulated to the both environments. Consequently their public interactions are confined within their neighborhoods or workplaces. Thus their public intercourses within the places of reproduction remain as an extension of their private or semi private social spheres. In this regard, an elaborate look in interviewee's places of reproduction necessitates understanding their conditions of relations and spatial practices within those extensions.

In order to observe their everyday socio-spatial practices in such extensions, a historical overview and an outlook for the formation of the built environment is significant. Considering the fact that each seven of the interviewee is living in a former gecekondu neighborhood, I will briefly explain the formation of gecekondu neighborhoods in Turkey.

The lack of housing stock for low-income migrant families and inefficient control over the public land resulted in construction of the self-built gecekondu neighborhoods, which are built mainly on the public and private lands. The considerable amount of migration and the growing gecekondu neighborhoods pointed out the lack of "right to shelter" problem. In the early periods of 60s and 70s, the local governments either enforced gecekondu owners to leave their houses or demolished them for preventing the process of the gecekondu construction. But the opposition of the gecekondu owners for maintenance of their self constructed houses became more than a demand for shelter but also became a political act of resistance and struggle against the local governments.

However, simultaneously this processes created a lacuna in the urban planning processes. Within a short period of time it became a strategy of the central and local governments for expanding value over urban land through gecekondu legalization and construction. Thus the legalization processes of gecekondu resulted in the transformation of the self-constructed, one story-village type houses into four or five story apartment buildings as an economic asset.

Within this context, the formation of urban space and socio-spatial stratification in Istanbul are significant determinants for more than a half of the interviewees' social

practices in their neighborhoods. On the other hand the neighborhood corresponds to their house and its extensions, while the neighborhood becomes the place for the people of same origin. Considering that all of the interviewees are either migrants or born in a migrant family house, their neighborhood provided a realm between public and private where they can settle and form their lives in Istanbul. Based on the research on migrant women living in Netherlands, Yücesoy (2006) conveys that the neighborhood is a spatial unit, which becomes mediation between home and the city, a marker for placing migrants in the host city (Yücesoy, 2006).

Similarly the workplaces of the interviewees' and their immediate surroundings are the other central core where their places of production and reproduction juxtapose through their everyday public encounters.

In this section, in order to understand to what extent neighborhoods and workplaces are becoming an interface between the city and the public life of the interviewees, I will convey "home" and "work" extensions which occur at the interviewees' everyday socio-spatial practices.

5.3.2.1 Home extensions

Bonacker states that the common use of outside areas becomes the spaces of physical and social extension for immigrants and working class communities (Bonacker, 1982). Because of the strong identification with their neighborhood, the place provides a common space for social interactions through allowing inhabitants to spend time on the streets, and exploration of special hidden and identical places. This is to say, neighborhood bursts into sight as an extension of home for the migrants becoming the inhabitants of the city. Therefore the characteristic of the neighborhood and the centrality of home are crucial to understand to what extent and where home extensions occur in interviewees' daily life.

Considering the fact that seven of the interviewees are living in former *gecekondu* areas, there are strong ties of inhabitants with each other and the built environment within the neighborhood (Figure 5.32).

Int.6: This is from a time we had all gathered outside the flat in our neighborhood, from my son's birthday. We just get together like this instantly. It is very safe for my children. Here everyone knows one another, they inquire when a stranger comes, who is it, whose relative, etc. So, I do not know, we do not have such a thing in our neighborhood.

All youngsters are always outside. We used to have newcomers. They were not welcome here at all, because there had been burglaries. But now there are none. Everyone knows one another and strangers are not admitted.¹⁰⁷



Figure 5.32 : Int.6, My neighbors in our garden.

Strong ties create a sense of security for Int.6 as well as for the others. On the other hand she thinks that the mass housing sites are also secure since they are protected with security guards. However she does not welcome the characteristics of such neighborhoods because of the limited public life and increased privacy.

Int.6: Life in estates... Since I am used to detached houses, estates... I have been to estate jobs a lot. It is so boring. I do not know, it seems so...

¹⁰⁷Int.6: Bu bizim mahallede evin dışında hep birlikte toplandığımız bir zaman, oğlumun doğum gününden. Hemen bir araya geliveririz böyle. Çocuklarım açısından çok güvenli. Burada bi de herkes birbirini tanıyor, yabancı biri geldi mi hani, kolluyorlar kim, neyin nesi diye. Onun için ne biliyim ben öyle şey yok yani bizim mahallede. Sürekli gençler dışarda falan böyle. Daha önceden yeni gelen insanlar falan vardı. Bayağı bi hoş karşılanmadı burada, hırsızlık falan da olmuştu çünkü. Ama şimdi yok. Şimdi herkes birbirini tanıyor, yabancı kimseyi de sokmuyor.

It is too proper, there is no neighborliness, I do not know. On the other hand I think it is safe, there is security at the door, you are in the estate area, there is no danger, it is safe that way, you shut the doors and you are by yourself. Maybe in the evenings, I do not know, they have some occasions. It seems too stressed and boring to me.¹⁰⁸

As distinct from the others, Int.8 thinks that she can also live in a mass-housing site since her home based activities plays a central role in her daily practices.

Int.8: I know myself. I do not have a habit of living in a neighborhood, for I am home all the time. I could live in an estate. I do not think there is much neighborliness, of course there must be some who do it, since every person has a different personality. I could live there. But could be hard in terms of comfort... I am at my own place now, the neighborhood is very convenient, everyone knows each other, and since they are all relatives they can tolerate anything. I could have some difficulty regarding this but my husband says he will never live in an estate, at most a building of 4-5 storeys. So it depends, I could convince him in living in a housing estate or I could live in a neighborhood like ours.¹⁰⁹

Int.8 is a 22-year-old woman, living at Baltalimanı with her husband and her two-year-old son. Before marriage, she lived in Gazi Neighborhood (mahalle), where mainly Kurdish Alevi community lives in. In comparison with Gazi Neighborhood and her childhood she also points out the dissolving public life and the community in the neighborhoods.

Int.8: What I remember is, everyone would gather somewhere with trays and all. We would sit in the open, skip ropes, we were so comfortable. It was a long time ago but was comfortable. Now as everyone is occupied with their own work, and when they turn up their noses if they earn a couple of bucks more, they say; "they do not visit us, why should we?" People have this attitude now.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸Int.6: Sitelerdeki hayat... Ya ben müstakile alıştığım için sitedeki hayatım... Ben çok gittim ev işine. Çok sıkıcı ya. Bilmiyorum, sıkıcı geliyor bana... Yani ortam yok doğru düzgün, komşuluk yok, ne biliyim ben. Bi yandan da güvenilir diye düşünüyorum çünkü kapıda bi güvenlik var, bekleyen var, sitenin içindesin, tehlike yok, o yönden rahat ama işte, kapını kapatıyorsun, kendi içindesin. Belki akşamları bilmiyorum, hani kendi aralarında ortam varsa bilmiyorum. Bana stresli ve sıkıcı geliyor.

¹⁰⁹Int.8: Ben kendimi biliyorum. Kolay kolay mahalle alışkanlığım yok, sırf evde oturduğum için. Ben mesela bir sitede de oturabilirim. Sitede çok fazla komşuluk yapıldığını sanmıyorum, yine yapan tabi ki de vardır, sonuçta herkesin kişiliği farklı ama. Mesela bir sitede oturabilirim. Ama rahatlık bakımından zor olabilir.. Şu an kendi evimdeyim, mahalle çok rahat, herkes birbirini tanıyor, herkes birbiriyle akraba olduğu için, herşeyini kaldırabiliyor. O bakımdan zorluk çekebilirim ama mesela benim eşim "hayatta sitede oturmam" diyor, "en fazla 4-5 katlı bina olur" diyor. O yüzden değişebilir yani, ben onu kandırıp sitede de taşınabilirim ama bizimki gibi bi mahallede de oturabilirim.

¹¹⁰Int.8: Benim hatırladığım, herkes bir yerde toplanır ya mesela, bildiğin tepsilerle giderdik, ben onu hatırlıyorum. Dışarda otururduk, ip atlardık mesela, o kadar rahattık. Baya eskidendi ama rahattı. E şimdi herkes kendi işine düşünce, biliyorsun, birisi üç kuruş para fazla kazandığı zaman burun çevirince, o da diyor ki... "O bana gelmiyor ben niye gideyim?" O kafa var ya şu an.

On the other hand the strong ties still remain, since they become an outer prison especially for a woman through the ties of the community. Int.7 is living in Okmeydanı where all her family, in-laws and relatives live in.

Int.7: But I am very pleased with my neighborhood. I miss this place when I am outside, it has all kinds of people. Kurdish, the Alawite... Actually it feels weird to say Kurdish but most of the neighborhood is from the east. On the other hand at first when I went to work I would forget all troubles here, it would feel good to move away a little. So many debts, problems of my husband and kids and relatives, we are drowned in each other's sorrows all the time. And it reflects of course. The pain at home used to disappear at work, we would forget. Now home is fine but the work is not.¹¹¹

Similarly Int.1 had grown up in Gazi Neighbourhood. She asserts that she and her family participated in the reforestation of the neighborhood's surrounding, that's why she feels responsible and attached. In addition to that she thinks that she has the "right to the city" since she took part in its production process.

Int.1: After my little brother was born my mother used to wrap him on her back and go to the Alibeyköt Dam near Gazi District to plant trees. There is the work of my mother and siblings in 70% of the trees there. We used to plant pine trees. They would go there for the day, I think the municipality wanted the pine trees. But now thank goodness we are doing okay, we go there again for picnics. Of course now they will build the new bridge and all the trees will be gone. We have a right for every tree there, though.¹¹²

Today, Int.1 is living in Alibeykoy, where her in-laws are living. She thinks that the practices she learnt from the family, form the basis of her relations in the neighborhood. Moreover, she asserts that the street, the place of her early encounter in the morning, is the place where she is grateful for turning back (Figure 5.33).

¹¹¹Int.7: Ama mahallemden çok memnunum. Dışarı çıktığım zaman burayı çok arıyorum, hemen her çeşit insan var. Kürt'ü Alevi'si... Gerçi Kürt demek de bi acayip geliyor ama mahallenin çoğu doğudan geliyor. Ama bir yandan da ilk zamanlar işe gidince her derdimi unutturdum burdan uzaklaşmak iyi gelirdi. Bir sürü borç evde. Sürekli sıkıntı, evim eşim çocuklarım, akrabaların dertleri, sürekli birbirimizin derdinde boğuluyoruz. E yansıyor tabi. Evdeki dert işte gidiveriyordu, şaka maka unutuyorduk. Şimdi iş yerinde kötü evde iyi. Tabi öyle olunca ev iyi geliyor.

¹¹²Int.1: Küçük kardeşim doğduktan sonra annem kardeşimi sırtına sarıp Gazi Mahallesi'nde ordaki Alibeyköy Barajı'nın oraya gidip ağaç dikermiş. Ordaki ağaçların %70'inde benim annemin kardeşlerimin emeği var. Biz çam dikmeye gidiyorduk. Kardeşlerim annem günlüğe giderdi oraya, galiba belediye işemiş buralara çam dikilecek diye, ağaç dikmeye gidiyoruz. Ama bugün iyi oldu durumumuz çok şükür gene oraya pikniğe gidiyoruz. Tabi şimdi yeni köprü yapılacak bütün ağaçlar gidecek, halbuki her bir dikilen ağaçta hakkımız var bizim.



Figure 5.33 : Int.1, Where I greet my neighborhood in the mornings

Int.1: This is just my street, my house is on it, it lies just below the avenue. Every morning I use this route and get to the upper avenue through the trees. Every morning the dustman who sweeps those doors waits for me at 10 past 7... Actually I do not have 2 TL as meal money but I take 1 TL every morning, I give it to him saying "good morning, here, have some tea on me." This is how my mother and father taught me. We would take tea and breakfast for the dustmen on the street from the fifth floor. I give that old man money every morning for I have been taught so and I think he is in need. He prays for me. And honestly as I walk away, I say "good morning birds, good morning trees, good morning earth and sky, I will be back trampling these pavements, God willing, in the evening," and I go to the edge of my street, full of hope¹¹³.

Although Int.1 appreciates the built environment in her neighborhood, she and her family are not using the public parks near her house. When I asked the reason, she expresses as follows,

¹¹³Int.1: Bu hemen benim sokağım. Benim evim bu sırada caddenin bir altı burası. Ben her sabah bu güzergahı kullanıp şuradan şu ağaçların olduğu yerden üst caddeye çıkıyorum. Her sabah şu kapıları süpüren çöpçü 7'yi 10 geçe beni bekliyor... Aslında benim 2 milyon yemek param yok ama her sabah evden 1 lira para alıyorum. "Amca günaydın kolay gelsin benden bir çay içersin" diye veriyorum. Çünkü ben onu gördüm anamdan babamdan. 5'inci kattan çöpçülere çay poğaça kahvaltı indiriyorduk. Ben ailemden gördüğüm için, ordaki o amcayı garip hissettiğim için, her sabah o amca buraları süpürürken para veriyorum. O adam bana "kızım allah razı olsun allah ne muradın varsa versin" diyor. Tabi bu arada giderken gerçekten bak samimi söylüyorum, "günaydın kuşlar, günaydın ağaçlar günaydın yer yüzü gök yüzü mahallem inşallah akşam bu kaldırım taşlarını çiğneyerek geri gelirim" diyerek bir umutla bu sokağımın köşe başına gidiyorum.

Int.1: The park is on this road (Figure 5.34), probably 10 minutes away but I never go, neither do my kids. My son is with his father in the store, and my daughter is at home. We chat over tea and meals... With one or two friends of them, they sit at home, do not go outside. My son and daughter play on this street anyway, and I watch them from the balcony. My daughter also goes to this street, gathers with her friends. She has friends living just on the edge, near the trees. Always in this district. Or they go and sit near the trees there on the edge of the street. I keep watch from the balcony, they are at my sight. I just enjoy myself in my balcony (laughs)¹¹⁴



Figure 5.34 : Int.1, My neighborhood in green.

Her emotional and spatial centrality of home affect the way she spends time in her neighborhood. On the other hand she conveys that the green spaces are inherited from the former gecekondu typo-morphology with detached single houses and gardens in the neighborhood.

¹¹⁴Int.1: Park bu yolun üstünde, 10 dk vardır ama hiç gitmiyorum çocuklarım da gitmiyor. Oğlum zaten babasının yanında dükkanda, kızım da evde gidiyoruz yemek çay muhabbeti yapıyoruz... İki tane arkadaşı geliyor onlarla çay muhabbeti... Öyle evde oturuyorlar çıkmıyorlar. Kızım oğlum oynarlarsa bu sokakta oynuyorlar zaten ben onları yukardan balkondan görüyorum. Kızım da bu sokağa iniyor. Arkadaşları ile toplanıyor. Hemen bu sokakta şurda karşıda oturan arkadaşları var onlarla oturuyorlar. Hep bu mahallede. Ya da şu köşe başında şurda şu ağaçların olduğu yerde oturuyorlar. Onları seyrediyorum balkonda gözümün önündeler. Ben de balkonumda keyif yapıyorum.(gülüyor)

While she thinks that her in-laws had to build an apartment block because of the increasing number of the family members she insists that typology has to remain in order to have a green environment.

Int.1: I go to the park or to visit a patient there. I get tired and sit on the pavement here, so do those old women. I sit in the cool of the trees here, chat with them. There are plum, cherry, mulberry, fig trees here, I eat from the trees and chat, just like a village. I am against the uprooting of these. Are you building a house, you have 150 meters of land, and there is a tree at the edge. The clamshell could just leave it there. Did you see the gecekondu, the guy turned the front of his house into a garden. There is at least 200 meters of land here. He left the front side and built a house at the back. Look this is like that too, trees in the front, just a gecekondu on the giant field at the back. I love this greenery, we can breathe here, it is oxygen.¹¹⁵

Similarly for Int.2 her neighborhood is full of “concrete” while the green hidden spaces piqued her interest within the neighborhood (Figure 5.35). On the other hand, she thinks that,

Int.2: It is all concrete here. What can we do; the people need this maybe, but sometimes I see beautiful pathways on my way to work. I have never been but I always wonder. I wish we had more places like that. Just like in Yeşilpınar... It was beautiful in there but there was the stink of the barns, I could not take it. We had come from the village but I cannot tolerate such dirty places. There is no stink here but it is very crowded. I do not like it, people sit on the roads and block them. I walk around keeping my eyes on the ground.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵Int.1: Parka ya da orda komşuya hasta ziyaretine gidiyorum. Yoruldum burada oturuyorum bu kaldırımda şurdaki teyzeler de oturuyor. Bunun serinliğinin altında burda ben de oturuyorum onlarla sohbet ediyorum. Burda erik ağacı, kiraz ağacı, dut ağacı, incir ağacı... Hem bunlardan yiyorum değişiklik köy havası gibi hem sohbet ediyorum. Ben bunların sökülmesine karşıyım. Ev mi yapıyorsun 150 metre arsan var içinde diyelim evinin ucunda... Şu işte evi arkada kalıyor bak. Ağaç evin ucunda, istese kepçe şunu şurdan alır ağacı böyle bırakır. Bak gecekondu var çatısını gördün mü adam evinin önünü bahçe yapmış. Burası en az 200 metre arsa. Önünü bırakmış ardına ev yapmış. Bak burası da öyle önü ağaç arkası kocaman arazinin içinde bir gecekondu. Ya ben bu yeşilliği çok seviyorum nefes alıyoruz ya oksijen.

¹¹⁶Int.2: Buralar da hep betondur. Ne yapalım ihtiyacı var insanların demek ki, ama bazen böyle sabahları giderken görüyorum böyle güzel patikalar vardır. Hiç gitmedim ama hep merak ediyorum, Yeşilpınar'daki gibi. Orası da çok güzeldi ama ahır kokusu vardı orda ben dayanamadım. Biz köyden gelmiştik ama ben öyle pis yere tahammül edemem ki. Burda koku yoktur ama çok kalabalık. Ben sevmiyorum millet sokaklara oturup yolu tikiyor. Hiç kafamı kaldırmadan geliyor



Figure 5.35 : Int.2, My neighborhood.

The interviewees' perceptions on their neighborhoods represent that the neighborhoods are still in transformation. Although they are the inhabitants of the neighborhoods they become the "observers" of the change while their practices become more limited within their home. That is to say, the public encounters occur at the spaces of extensions, between places of home and work.

5.3.2.2 Extensions of work

By looking at the spatial centrality of work in certain interviewees' everyday practices, I observe that the places of everyday public encounters enlarge the work related social interactions. For Int. 5, public places between home and work are places extended from the social sphere of the work.

*Int.5: I like it in here (Figure 5.36). The front of the mosque is a beautiful area. Like a little park, a resting place among the buildings. I like it. I go and sit on an empty field if I ever find one. I smoke there and get back. Or in the evening when the sun is near, we sat and had a chat just here the other evening. Since no one has time for friendship because of their work, we sit here after work or meetings.*¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷Int.5: Burası hoşuma gidiyor benim. Güzel bir alandır caminin önü. Binaların içinde ufak bir park gibi dinlenme yeri gibi. Benim hoşuma gidiyor. Binde bir de olsa boş bulursam bi oturuyorum. Bir sigara içiyorum öyle geliyorum. Yahut da akşam toplantı çıkışı arkadaşım Güneş yanımdaysa şurda



Figure 5.36 : Int.5, Heart to heart talks with my fellows from work.

In her case, the time and space compression release itself in such extensional places which become the places of escape in the city.

Similarly, Int.7 finds a “wiggle room”¹¹⁸ for herself with friends from work before going back home.

*Int.7: Sometimes after work in the evening we have a bagel and tea in Mecidiyeköy for 30 minutes. That feels so good for all of us... A friend from work and her sister, we do it every 2 or 3 days. We get the chance to laugh about in some way after the work is done, otherwise how can we cope with the troubles at home and work?*¹¹⁹

Likewise Int.7 and Int.5, Int.4 is struggling to open up a “wiggle room” within her extremely compressed time and space. However she thinks that she finds it at her workplace, that’s why she spends her weekly leave days near her workplace with her friends from work.

hatta oturup sohbet ettik geçen akşam... Kimsenin çalışmaktan arkadaşlığa zamanı kalmadığı için işte iş ya da toplantı çıkışlarında oturuyoruz burada.

¹¹⁸In “Spaces of Work” (2006), referring to David Harvey, Castree et. al. assert that “we feel that many workers have considerable ‘wiggle room’ within the confines of capitalism to improve their situation. Using this wiggle room to an advantage is a fundamentally geographical project (p, xvii).

¹¹⁹Int.7: Akşam iş çıkışı bazen 30 dakika Mecidiyeköy’de bi simit bi çay içiyoruz. O çok iyi geliyor hepimize var ya... Biri işten arkadaşım biri de onun ablası iki üç günde bir yaparız. İş bitince kendimizle bi şekilde gülmeye fırsat buluyoruz, yoksa evde ayrı işte ayrı dert nasıl dayanırız...

*Int.4: I try to enjoy home, I stay there but I sometimes just hurl myself outside after I clean up and am finished with the chores, then I get bored and go to İstinye or Baltalimanı or somewhere. I sit at the seaside, but not by myself, I always have a friend from the island with me. There is no one else I know anyway... My next door neighbor is the landlord and I get along well with the one on the other side. But I do not spend that much time with women, with housewives. I am always with friends from work, not that I have any other friends...*¹²⁰

For the women cleaning workers whose spatial practices are not centralized at home, I observed that such extensional places appear as “the wiggle rooms” of time and space compression within the practices related to their occupations both at work and home. Apart from the workplace, the extensional spaces become the places of escape aided from the public spaces of the city.

5.3.3 City and the public space

Instead of the extensional experiences, there are certain places which pique the curiosity or interest of or causes fear for the interviewees. Through the photographs taken by the interviewees, I questioned how much the city appeals to women’s daily life.

For Int.5, certain places represent the fear of future. While looking at an old construction site, she expresses the challenge of living in a city witnessing the capital accumulation and its realization processes.

Int.5: This place made me afraid (Figure 5.37)... There used to be this Çırpıcı meadow near the last station of Zeytinburnu, and a construction site in the inner area. When I saw the machines and the people working there, I thought how and through what some people earn things. What kind of a world do we live in, where everything is about money. We can transform everything to money and actually demolish in somewhere and rebuild in somewhere else. People can discard some things for economic gain; that is what I saw there. It has been many years since the meadow was rearranged, and God knows how many people exploited and benefited from it. There might even have been killings that we never heard of just for profit. The work accidents happening here: people’s arms are broken, and nobody including the company protects them. If only one knows one’s rights and seeks them, and by any chance has also courage and self-confidence – 1 in 10, maybe 2 in 100 – and there are

¹²⁰Int.4: Evin tadını çıkarmaya çalışıyorum evde kalıyorum ama yani dışarı da atıyorum kendimi. Evi temizleyip işimi bitirdikten sonra sıkılıyorum, bi İstinye’ye Baltalimanı’na falan gidiyorum. Sahilde oturuyorum çay içiyorum, tek başıma da olmuyorum, mutlaka adadan bir arkadaşım oluyor yanımda. Başka da çevrem yok ki... Komşum ev sahibi ve bitişik komşumla aram çok iyi. Ama kadınlarla, ev kadınlarıyla pek zaman geçirmiyorum. Hep işyerimden arkadaşlarımıyım, başka arkadaşım yok ki...

*not that many people like that. But I feel that we are awakening, or I do not know, maybe I feel this way because I am involved this much.*¹²¹



Figure 5.37 : Int. 5, I look and see how people earn among the others.

Class-consciousness and labor processes she experienced make it clear for Int.5 that the city is under a continuous transformation, which makes her afraid. Similarly the bazaar near her house represents the house related consumption and expenses, which makes her annoyed (Figure 5.38).

Int.5: The bazaar is a big, beautiful one. You can find anything. But I have never looked round it. I just went there once for a stroll, I do not shop there. I feel a little sad every time I pass there (laughs). I do not know why but I feel like I am not actually in need. If I go there every week and spend probably 20 TL, it makes 80. That is not a lot of money

¹²¹Int.5: Bu yer beni ürküttü... Bu Zeytinburnu son durağında eski Çırpıcı Çayırılık'ı vardı, orada biraz daha iç kısımlarda da bir şantiye vardı. O an baktım insanların çalışma yeri, makinalar falan... Şöyle bakıyorum kimi insanlar nelerin üzerinden neleri kazanıyor aslında. Yani nasıl bir dünyada yaşıyoruz, her şey para. Her şeyi paraya çevirebiliyoruz aslında bir yerden yıkıp bir yerden yeniden yapabiliyoruz. Bir yerden şunu demek istiyorum, bir şekilde birileri bir şeyleri kullanarak maddi çıkar uğruna kendileri için bazı şeyleri gözden çıkarabiliyorlar. Ben orada onu gördüm, o Çırpıcı Çayırı düzleneli kaç yıl oldu. Kim bilir onun üzerinden kaç kişi nemalandı. Çıkar uğruna ölümler bile olmuş olabilir bizim duymadığımız. İhaleydi bilmem neydi bunlar gelmişti aklıma. Burada çalışan işçilerin iş kazaları, kolu bacağı kırılıyor, şirket falan kimse sahip çıkmıyor onlara. Hakkını eğer bilip de arayan varsa şansa bir de cesareti özgüveni varsa - 10 kişide bir kişi ya da 100 kişide 2 kişi bilmiyorum yani çok kişide çok fazla yok aynı anda. Ama sanki uyanmaya başladık artık gibime geliyor ya da belki bilmiyorum çok içinde olduğum için öyle düşünüyorum.

but I delve into doing the numbers when I pass by there, so I do not like the bazaar that much. It is beautiful but too crowded.¹²²



Figure 5.38 : Int.5, It's not that expensive but annoying.

On the other hand, for Int.3 class unity and convergence make her feel better and strong. She conveys that seeing a garbageman on street reminds herself her own struggle and she thinks that “everybody has a position in the city” (Figure 5.39).

Int.3: I was shooting the dustman, he is too far away though. When you go down here, you reach Kağıthane. If I am walking to work I take this road to Kağıthane. I feel good when I see the dustman. Especially when the street is empty and he is working just by himself (laughs). I do not know, our duties are actually the same, and seeing his struggle in the morning motivates me. Our struggle is the same.¹²³

¹²²Int.5: Pazar çok güzel büyük bir pazar. Her şey bulunabiliyor. Ama hiç gezmedim ben bu pazarı. Bir sefer gezmek için gezdim, alışveriş yapmıyorum. Oradan geçerken her seferinde bir hüzünleniyorum (gülüyor)... Niye bilmiyorum ama hiç gerçekten ihtiyacım yokmuş gibi hissediyorum. Her hafta pazara çıkmış olsam herhalde 20 lira harcasan 80 lira. Çok da para değil aslında ama oradan geçerken hesaba kitaba dalıveriyorum, sevmiyorum ben bu pazarı. Güzel çok kalabalık ama işte...

¹²³Int.3: Çöpçüyü çekiyordum çok uzak kalmış, küçük kalmış ama. Şuradan aşağıya inince Kağıthane, işe giderken yürüyorsam burdan Kağıthane'ye iniyorum. Çöpçüyü görünce kendimi iyi hissediyorum. Hele bi de sokak boşsa o bi başına iş yapıyorsa daha iyi oluyor (gülüyor). Ne bileyim, görevimiz aynı aslında, onun mücadelesini görmek bana moral oluyor sabahları.



Figure 5.39 : Int.3, His struggle is mine.

*Int.3: You asked me to show you anything that I did not like: here is this block of concrete (Figure 5.40). Actually shopping mall Z. does not look that big from afar but it is like this everywhere now. I like my job, I will do it anywhere, we have no other chance. My work in Kağıthane was of course in a rural area, here I see construction sites more often. I do not know, I do not like it, it bothers me as I pass this bridge...*¹²⁴



Figure 5.40 : Int.3, It is like this everywhere now.

¹²⁴Int.3: Hani bana sordun ya beğenmediğin şey olursa göster diye, bu işte beton yığını. Aslında Z. Avm uzaktan o kadar da büyük gözüküyor ama her yer bu halde artık. Ama ben işimi seviyorum nerde olsa yaparım başka şansımız yok. Kağıthane'deki işim tabi kırsal yerdeydi burda daha çok görüyorum böyle inşaat. Ne bileyim sevmiyorum işte rahatsız ediyor şu köprüden geçerken...

Although the photo camera puts the interviewee into an observer position, the way women look at the city and how it is appealing to them remarks the same position of an observer, which becomes a passive receiver. On the other hand, the consciousness on the processes of accumulation and realization of capital reveal another wiggle room within the capitalist production of space.

5.4 Inbetween Spaces

Considering the two spheres of the analysis of everyday life, inbetween spaces represent the experiences which happens at both sphere in relation with the city. Many of the inbetween experiences asserted by the interviewees occurred while they were commuting. Although commuting is a reproductive activity, the appealing to the city could be mentioned by the interviewees through such photographs related to their commuting experiences.

5.4.1 Enlarging spatial knowledge and daily travels

According to all of the interviewees, their complacency of living in their neighborhood is parallel to their accessibility to the means of public transportation, which carry them to their workplaces. Thus for them working becomes a reason for leaving their neighborhoods and enlarging their daily experiences in the city of İstanbul.

Int.1: When I look at the bus stop (Figure 5.40), I see the places I work till now. This is our stop, I take the shuttle in the middle of those buildings, I thank God every day that I do not wait in line like other people there, I do not suffer like them. I have my own shuttle, I took this photo to show we take it to work, good or bad. I am saved from those buses for two years now. That 49A line. That is line 99 to Eminönü and that is 39 to Beyazıt. I have worked in three different places and used all these lines. They have different routes and the distance is long, and you know the traffic in İstanbul but thank God I was freed from them two years ago. There was a hospital, I went there with this dolmuş. And I went to Y. with line 49, to Şişli. I used to cook in Eminönü and Beyazıt Grand Bazaar, I would take those two. If I wanted to roam about the Grand Bazaar I would get off from the Beyazıt bus and walk to Mahmutpaşa through the bazaar or I would get off in Eminönü and walk to Beyazıt if I wanted some sea view. I used to use both buses, I used

*almost every line but not for travelling, I did because I had to. I worked in Eminönü for two years*¹²⁵



Figure 5.41 : Int.1, Bus stop which leads me to the city.

Int.1: And now Maçka (Figure 5.4). Every morning climbing these stairs and watching the sea for two minutes gives me calm. It is not great, but I have a job. I like it here. I did not go to school here but I work as a cleaner, it is OK, that is also a school. I am happy I can see this here. But this place brings back some memories, I will tell you later. I like Beşiktaş. It was a place I heard of but never went to when I was a child, the guy would tell us he was a doorman in Beşiktaş. He was talking about this place. I wish we had been here. Maybe I would have seen the sea then, instead of when I was 28. I would feel its air, even if I did not go in. I saw the sea for the first time when I was 28, its colour, what it is; we could not go before, we were so poor. I got married but I did not

¹²⁵Int.1: Buraya bakınca çalıştığım bütün iş yerlerini görüyorum. Burası bizim durağımız işte ben burdan şu binanın arasından servisi binıyorum, burada her sabah şükür ederek şurda insanlar gibi kuyruğa girmiyorum, ama eziyet çekmiyorum burdaki insanlar gibi. Kendime ait bir servisim var çok şükür, amma iyi amma kötü binip gidiyoruz diye bu resmi çektim. İki senedir ben bu otobüslerden kurtuldum. Şu 49A hattı. Şu Eminönü hattı 99, şu da 39 Beyazıt hattı. Ben üç tane işte çalıştım üçünde de bu hatların hepsini kullandım ayrı ayrı güzergahlar ama mesafeler çok. İstanbul trafiği malum ama çok şükür iki senedir kurtuldum. Bi hastane, ona şu minibüsle gidiyordum. Bi de Y.'de 49 ile gidiyordum Şişli'ye. Eminönü'nde yemek yaptım, Beyazıt Kapalı Çarşı da şu ikisini kullanıyordum. Kapalıçarşı havası almak istersem, Beyazıt arabasından inip çarşının içinden Mahmutpaşa'ya yürüyordum. Canım sahil havası isterse Eminönü'nde inip Beyazıt'a çıkıyordum. Her iki arabayı da kullandım. Her bir otobüsü kullandım ben iş güzergahım için. Gezmekten değil ha, Mecburiyetten. O işerimde de Beyazıt'da iki sene çalıştım Eminönü'nde.

*know what a holiday meant. I started going to the sea at 28. I got married when I was 18 – you are a housewife, who is going to listen to you and take you to the seaside anyway?*¹²⁶

The spaces which are represented as the gates to the city, that she is thankful of having the opportunities of transport and employment.

5.4.1.1 Work and urban travel

From a first impression, urban travel for the sake of work may imply that women's daily practices reach beyond their own neighborhoods. However they would rather prefer to have services which directly take them to their work places.

*Int.8: The district actually does not matter that much, I just want it to be close to the center. I like Beşiktaş, but I cannot live there, maybe only somewhere near there. If I can go around with one bus only... When I lived in Gazi, yes we have everything there, but to get to work you travel for 2 hours, sometimes 2 and a half when there is traffic, I do not want to go through that.*¹²⁷

However for Int.4 the way to work is a pleasure since she feels relaxed when she is on the way (Figure 5.41).

*Int.4: Being on the way makes me feel better. Sometimes, it is better when you don't know where you are going. But I like going to work. Besides, I don't think that some one apart from us is commuting to such a place. Everyday, I take the ferry on the sea. Can you imagine?... As I said before I wouldn't work here If my work is somewhere else.*¹²⁸

¹²⁶Int.1: Geldik Maçka'ya. Şimdi ben burdan çıktım geldim Maçka'ya ben her sabah şu merdivenleri çıkıp şu denizi iki dakika da olsa seyrediyorum, burası bana huzur veriyor. Çok şükür amma iyi amma kötü, çok iyi değil ama bir işim var. Az önce de dediğim gibi saygın insanlar hocalar. Çok memnunum buranın havası bir başka, ben burda okumadım ama temizlikçi olarak çalışıyorum. Olsun, o da bir okul. İyi ki burayı görüyorum, buranın bende acısı var. Orayı da öteki şeyimi de anlatırım. Yani seviyorum Beşiktaş'ı. Çocukken duyduğum ama hiç bilmediğim yerdin Beşiktaş, ama duyuyorduk. Adam anlatıyordu Beşiktaş'ta kapıcılık yapıyorum diye. Adam meğerin bize buraları anlatıyormuş. Keşke gelseydik. Ben belki de denizi 28 yaşında değil de belki de o zaman görürdüm. Girmesem de en azından havasını alırdım. Ben denizi 28 yaşında gördüm, denizin ne olduğunu suyun rengini çünkü gitmiyoruz ki. Fakiriz. Evlendik geldik tatil mi biliyoruz. 28 yaşında başladım ben denize gitmeye. 18 yaşında evlendim ben tabi yani ev hanımısın seni kim lafına alıp da denize götürecek tatile götürecek.

¹²⁷Int.8: Ya mahalle aslında çok fazla farketmiyor, merkezi yere yakın olsun. Ben Beşiktaş'ı seviyorum, ama oturamam, ancak etrafında yakın yerinde otururum. Bir otobüsle gidip geliyorsam. Ben Gazi'de oturken, tamam orada da herşey var, ama orda nedir çalışmak için iki otobüse biniyorsun iki saat yol gidiyorsun, trafik olduğu zaman 2-2.5 saat sürüyor, hani onu çekmek istemem.

¹²⁸Int.4: Yolda olmak bana iyi geliyor. Bazen nereye gideceğimiz belli olmadığına daha güzel. Ama işe gitmeyi seviyorum. Hem hiç kimsenin böyle bi yere gidip geldiğini sanmıyorum bizlerden başka. Her gün suyun üstünde motora biniyorum. Düşünebiliyor musun... Dedim ya işim böyle bir yerde olmasa hayatta çalışmazdım.

Moreover daily travels become the places of encounter with people from the same socio-economic background (Figure 5.42).

Int.2: Normally, Meryem sits next to me. We met on the same bus, we commute everyday. She is also a cleaning worker at a hotel in Talimhane. I have her phone number. She was worried when I my workplace was changed, I forgot to tell her because I was in a rush. She says “where have you been, it’s been days”..sometimes she was waiting for me at the bus stop. I am not late generally, but she was coming five minutes before me. We talk randomly, she is the friend on the way home.¹²⁹



Figure 5.42 : Int.4, Ferry trip everyday.

¹²⁹Int.2: Normalde yanımda arkadaşım Meryem olur. Yolda tanıştık hep aynı saatte gider geliriz. O da Talimhane’de bi otelde temizlikçi. O gün hatta aradım neden gelmedin diye, hasta olmuş. Telefon numarası da var artık. Ben Taksim’den Ayazağa’ya geçince meraklanmış, telaşeden haber vermeyi unutmuşum. “Nerelerdesin, kaç gündür gelmiyorsun” diyor. Akşamları beni beklerdi bazen durakta. Ben geç kalmam ama o benden bi 5 dakika erken gelir. İşte evden havadan sudan konuşuruz. Yolda bana arkadaşdır.



Figure 5.43 : Int.2, On the way home.

5.4.1.2 The mode of travel: passive passengers

For some of the interviewees daily travels only make sense if they are not related with work. Int.7 likes travelling for and with her children. However commuting keeps her away from the city.

Int.7: I want that very much. I used to take my kids to museums on my off days, so that they see and learn. Thanks to them I did see and learn as well but I never say let me leave my work or troubles and wander about. I am always at home, it is 8 o'clock in the evening when I get home anyway. So with the cooking and all that I do not feel like leaving home.¹³⁰

Moreover Int.8 becomes more passive to her environment when she is on the way to work or home. Apart from her workplace, she becomes introverted both in her neighborhood and the bus since is not interested in being at public spaces.

Int.8: I always listen to music, and never look around. And also, I listen to music very loud, I might even irritate them (laughs). I don't like talking to strangers anyway, neither in the neighborhood nor at the bus.

¹³⁰Int.7: Onu çok istiyorum. İzin günlerimde çocuklarımı müzelere götürüyordum, çocuklar gezsin bilsin diye. Onlar sayesinde ben de öğrendim gezdim ama işimi derdimi bırakayım da söyle bir gezeyim demem hiç. Hep evdeyimdir, zaten evime geliyorum akşam 8 oluyor. İşte yemekti oyu buydu evden çıkasım bile gelmiyor.

When I quit work in the evening, I don't like the crowd at Beşiktaş. If I'm alone I walk as fast as I can.¹³¹

5.4.1.3 Walking as resistance

When I asked interviewees what they do when they feel bored or depressed, only the ones who feel freer from the house work and patriarchy asserted walking make them feel relaxed. The ability of experiencing space on foot remains as a resistance of the workload and the stress of living in İstanbul.

Int.6: There are times I am bored and fed up and want to give up everything, so I throw myself out, tour a little bit. I smoke at the door, calm down and return. I walk to Büyükdere or Kireçburnu. By myself. I put on my headphones and walk by myself, listening to music. I cry to comfort myself... I cry, and calm down when I am done. I sit at the garden. I say I am walking without my kids, and when I come to, I say why I am walking without them and turn back. My anger is temporary, thank goodness it is not permanent.¹³²

Likewise Int.6, Int.4 also prefers going work on foot if it is summer (from Yeniköy to Kuruçeşme) , enjoying the bosphorus view. Through walking she feels visible compared to the invisibility at work.

Int.4: In the summer Arnavutköy and Bebek are usually crowded. It is very suitable for a woman to walk around. I would not go where you live(Kadıköy). It is more fun, moving, its visuals are beautiful, you can just hang out. But you are going to work anyway. At work as I said, it is very crowded and everyone works hard. H. works hard, so does A. and the others. And you say I do as well. You just disappear in that crowd. But since the visuals are so good, and you are alone, you let yourself go.¹³³

¹³¹Int.8: Hep müzik dinlerim yoldayken hiç etrafıma bakmam. Bir de çok yüksek sesle dinlediğim için benden rahatsız bile olabilirler (gülüyor). Sevmem zaten pek kimseyle konuşmayı. Ne mahallede ne de yolda. Hatta işten çıkınca Beşiktaş'taki kalabalıktan da pek hoşlanmam. Tek başımayısam artık ne kadar hızlı yürüyebiliyorsam koştururum (gülüyor).

¹³²Her şeyden vazgeçip sıkılıp bunaldığım zamanlar çok oluyor, dışarı atıyorum kendimi, tur atıyorum dışarıda. Kapıda bir sigara içiyorum, sakinleşip geri geliyorum.Ya çıkıyorum Büyükdere'ye doğru yada Kireçburnu'na doğru bir yürüyüş yapıyorum. Tek başıma. Kulaklığımı takarım müziğimi dinleye dinleye giderim tek başıma.Ağlayarak kendimi teselli... ağlıyorum, ağlamam geçince sakinleşiyorum. Bahçede otururum.Geliyor. Şimdi diyorum çocuklar yanımda yok yürüyorum, kendime geldikten ben çocuklarımsız niye yürüyorum diyorum hemen geri dönüyorum .benim sinirim hemen zaten geçici, kalıcı değil Allahtan.

¹³³Int.4: Yazın Arnavutköy, Bebek dolu oluyor. Çok elverişli oluyor bi bayan için yürümek.Hani sizin o tarafa gidemem.Hani daha hareketli eylenceli görseiliği çok güzel kafanı dağıtırıyorsun.Ama tabi işe gidiyorsun sonuçta.Şey var yanı çok kalabalık dedim ya..hani herkes ağır iş yapıyor. Ha o da yapıyor Hasan da Ahmet de ağır iş yapıyor. Ha ben de yapıyorum diyorsun. O kalabalığın arasında kaynıyorsun. Ama yürürken yalnız oluyorsun, görseiliği çok güzel olduğu için kafanı dağılıyor.

5.5 Remapping Istanbul Through Experiences of Female Service Workers

In this section, in order to provide a re-conceptualization driven by the interviewees' socio spatial practices, I will map each interviewee's visual narrations aided by the previous spheres of production, reproduction and in between. In Appendix A, the table of Interviewees represent the facts gained by the semi-structured in-depth interviews. This table is mapped for each interviewee in Figures 5.45, 5.46, 5.47, 5.48 and 5.49 in order to visualize everyday socio-spatial practices of the interviewees

5.5.1 Int.1:

Int.1 is a married woman who moved to Istanbul right after she was born in Amasya in an Alevi family. After they arrived to Istanbul, her family constructed a *gecekondu* in Gazi Mahallesi. She started to work uninsured at her 12 in a chewing gum factory. At her 16, she married to the apprentice of her father who was a barber. After marriage, she moved to her in-laws *gecekondu* in Alibeyköy. She experienced the transformation of her own house from a *gecekondu* to an apartment block which became the struggle of her life.

She spent years of working at service sector (dishwasher at a hospital, housekeeper at a hotel, dishwasher and cook at a manufacturing atelier). Now it's been 7 year she is working as a contract worker at a University campus in Macka.

Spatially and emotionally, her daily activities are centralized at her home and neighborhood. She asserts that her image of the city crystalized first when she start to work outside of her neighborhood.

The urban morphology found by her daily travels to home, work and parents' house is representative in terms of the diverse experiences within the built environment (Figure 5.43).

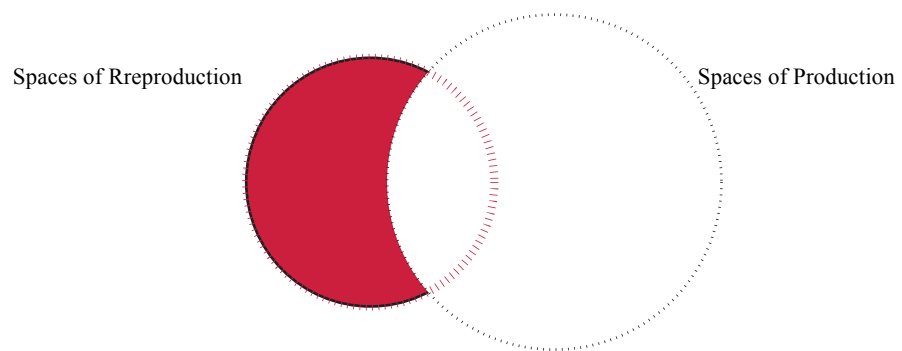


Figure 5.44 : Int. 1, Spheres of Everyday Life

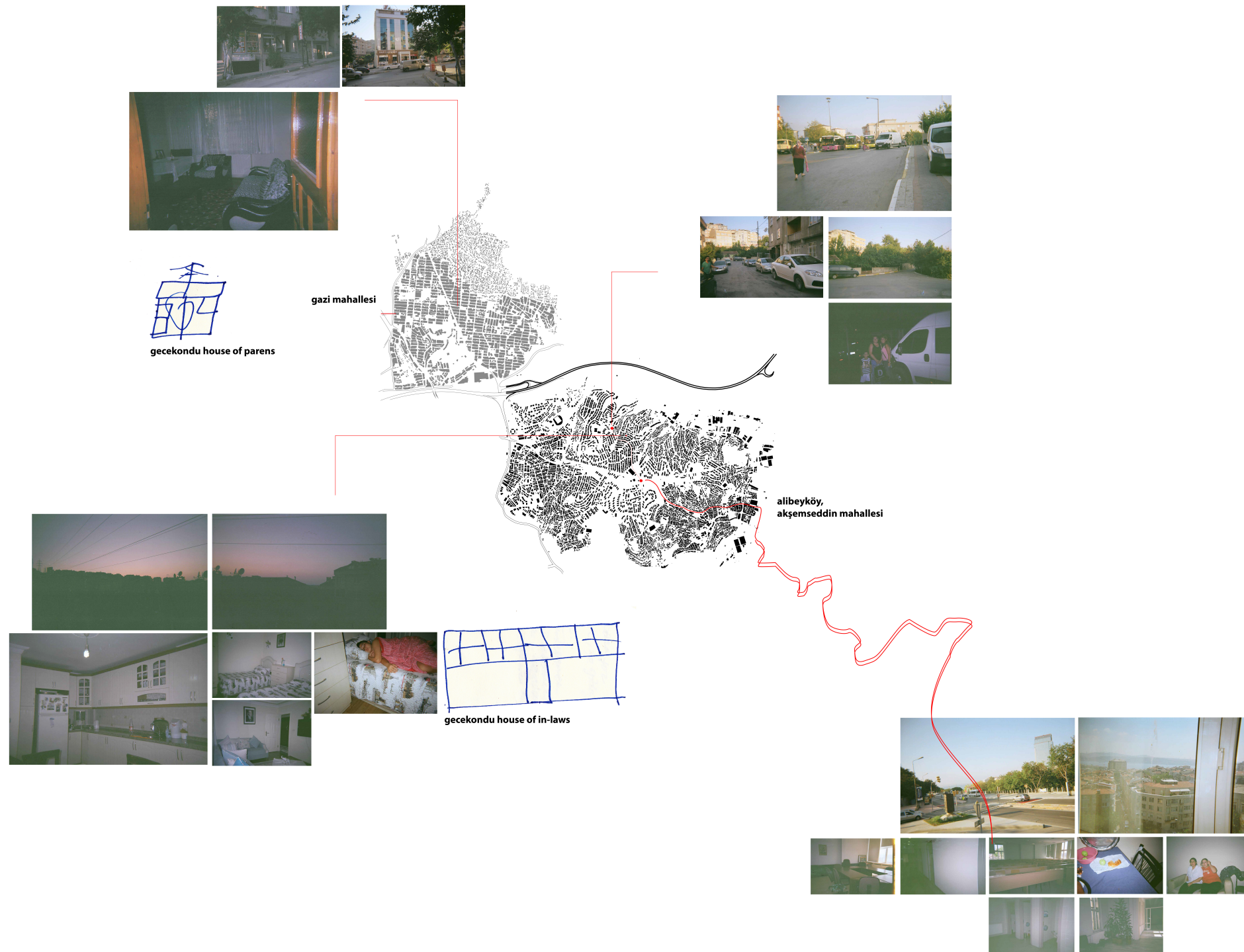


Figure 5.45 : Map of Int.1's everyday socio-spatial practices.

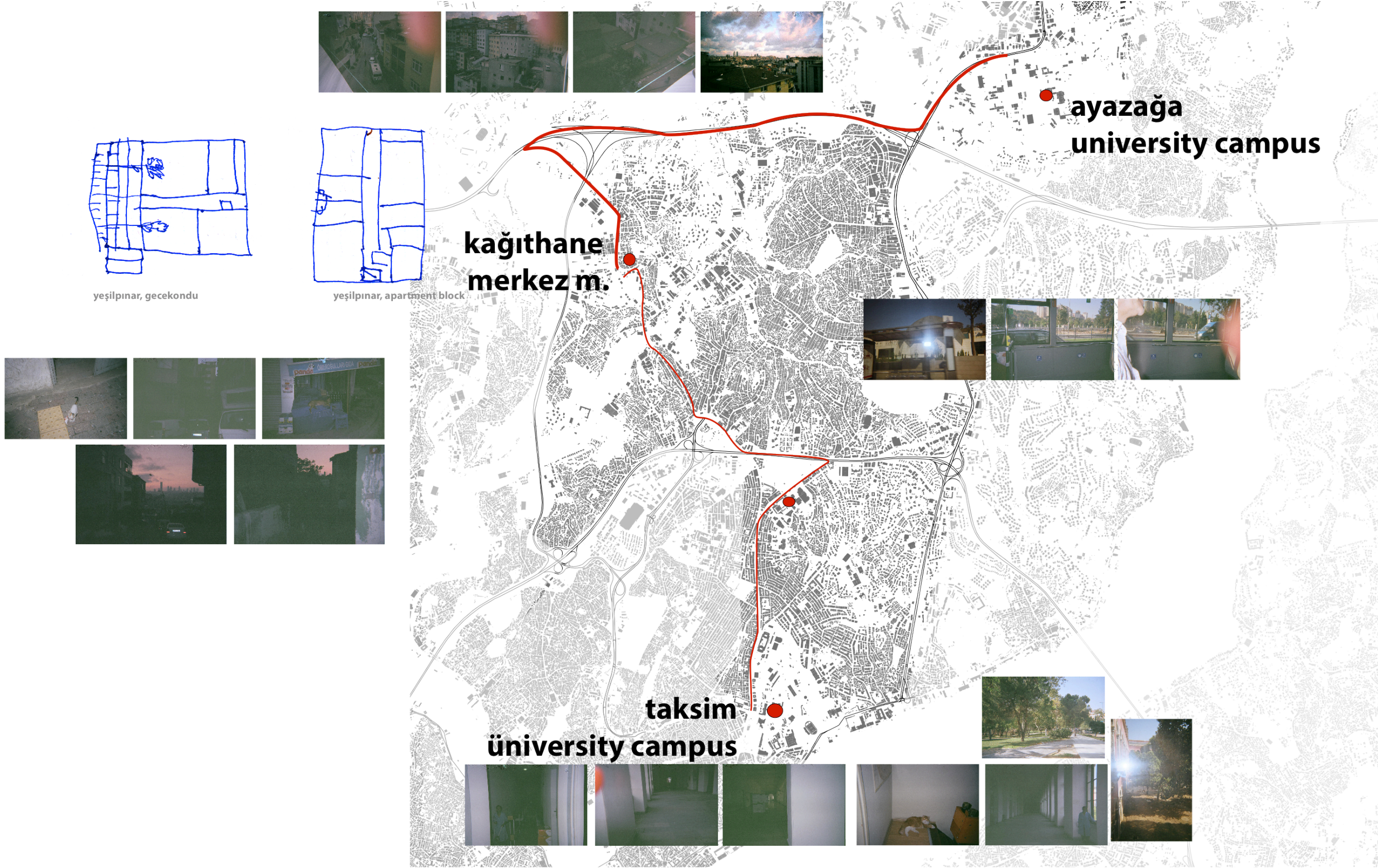


Figure 5.46 : Map of Int.2's everyday socio-spatial practices.



Figure 5.47 : Map of Int.3's everyday socio-spatial practices.



Figure 5.48 : Map of Int.5's everyday socio-spatial practices.

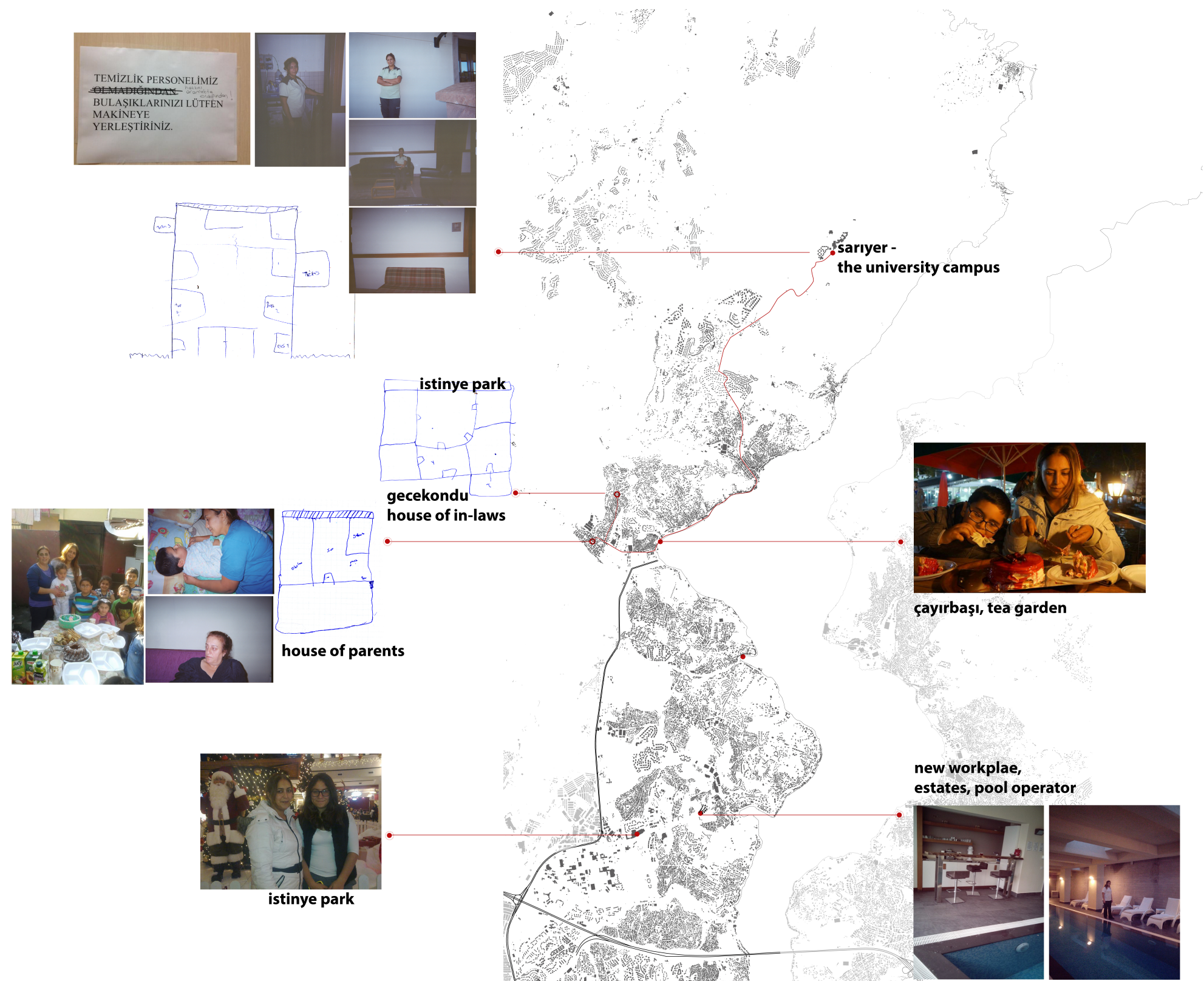


Figure 5.49 : Map of Int.6's everyday socio-spatial practices.

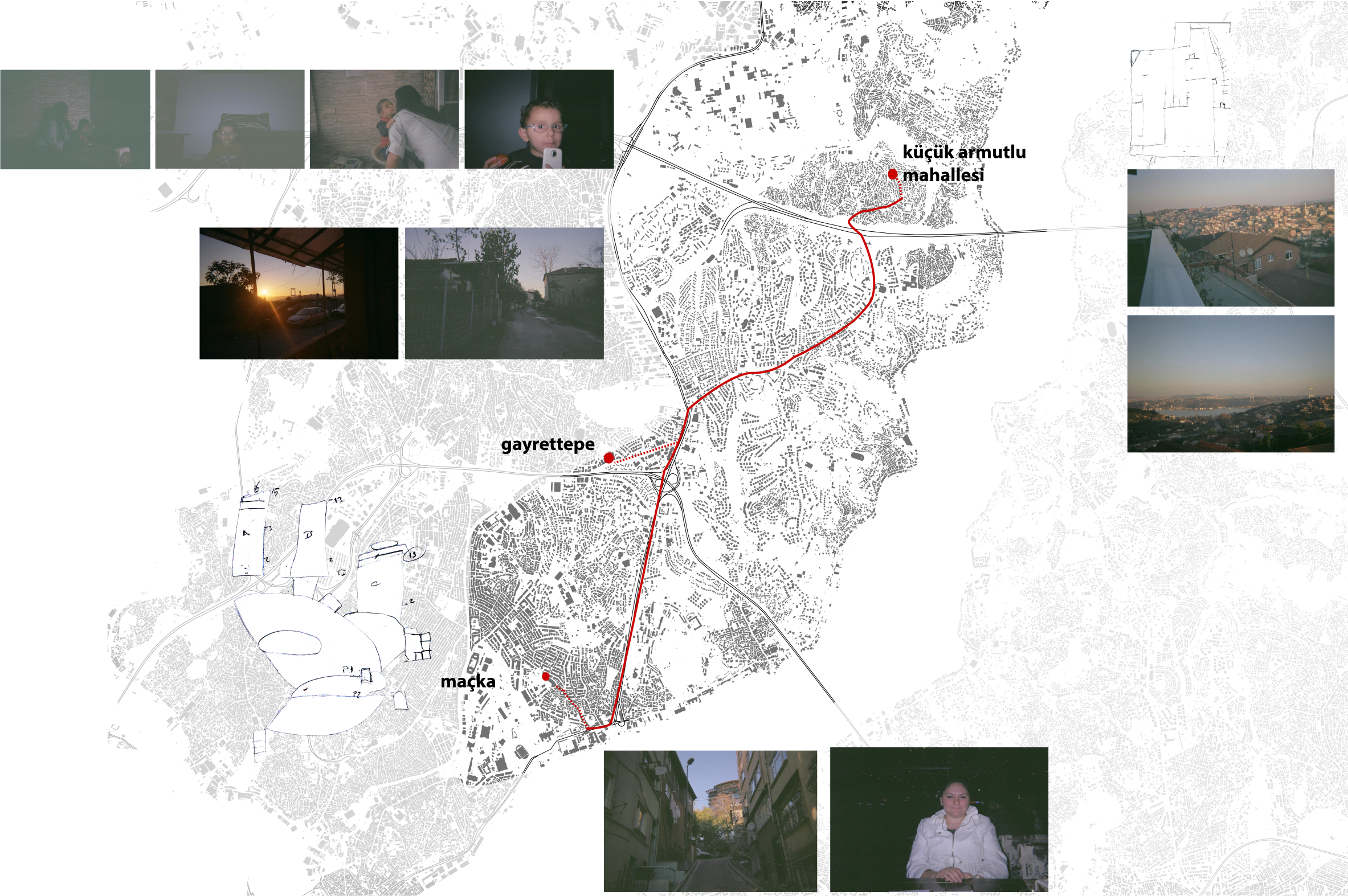


Figure 5.50 : Map of Int.8's everyday socio-spatial practices.

6. CONCLUSION

The debates on everyday life and its significant role in the production of space processes (since Lefebvre) are significant to understand how space and individuals are oppressed through the production relations of capital. While the production relations are being reshaped according to the flexible form of production; the homogenization of space tends to increase through the processes of global capitalism. The tendency and myths of 'globalization' (spaces of work) to dissolve the boundaries in order to make space detached and unbounded from place threatens and changes the living and working environments immensely, in result the daily practices. On the other hand, the flexible production based capital accumulation increases the time and space compression while living and working in the city becomes untenable. In relation to this general framework, this study aims to contribute to the studies of everyday life in order to conceptualize the relationship between the city of Istanbul and female cleaning workers.

Within this concept, this thesis analyses primarily the relationship of the cleaning worker by offering the urbanists a way to look through the everyday, the concrete reality. In addition to this, the thesis signifies that there are different groups and classes in the diversified society, and the service workers, especially the cleaning workers already exist but they are invisible to the society (and also to urban designers). Therefore, this thesis attempts to make this group and their relations to urban space visible to urbanists (urban designer, architects, urban planners, landscape architects etc.)

Instead of providing concrete proposals on the physical and social formations of space, the thesis would develop design problematics, which would, arise questions and arguments for urban designers. This is to avoid generalizations driven out from diverse characteristics of individuals but simultaneously to remark and criticize the homogenizing attitude of the urban planner and designer through a view from above.

Fundamentally, by looking at eight female cleaning workers' everyday experiences in Istanbul; the main argument arises in the form of the transformation of the society

without coordination with the built environment. This is to say that the transformations in the social relations in which these women live take place within the space, which has been formed under the relations of previous periods of capitalist spatial production. However the global capitalist relations and its formations in place (local) and space (global) (Castree et al., 2004) necessitates diverse approach and contribution for urban designers. Therefore, how urban design can contribute to this change is the main question emerging from the research.

6.1 Sphere of Production: Divergence of the Worker

With an outlook to the transformations within the spatial production sphere, the argument of changing social relations and incoordinated spatial formation necessitates an understanding of the changing macroforms of the cities through the changes in the capitalist modes of production. Before the deindustrialization, segregated and stratified urban space is aided by urban planning and design policies, which increased the divergence of classes and groups. The industry based economy and its space canalized urban planning and design practice towards deepening and increasing the segregation in space. However, the changing production relations, deindustrialization and increased service work with flexible and precarious conditions, transformed the social relations within the workspace and urban environment. Increased flexible and high tech manufacturing and increased emphasis of the service sector in economy caused transformation in the employment structure. Therefore, the formation of the workplace has changed by opening up more workplaces for the service worker. As a result, formerly separated classes and groups, today have more encounters at the workspaces which is observed throughout the research with increased “invisibility of the worker” and their increased “perception of inequality”.

6.1.1 Perception of inequality

Although class difference is not a novel concept, the spatial configuration of the processes of labour changed the perception of inequality for the workers. As a result I observed that, while the critical class-consciousness of the worker is increasing, the transformation is increasing the integration of the classes to the capitalist system. Moreover, different groups of working classes live in diverse conditions in the sense

of encounters with other classes and socio-spatial perceptions. This is actually caused by the differences in the spatial configuration of that certain work. If one looks at a worker in a factory which is highly separated from the urban system, it will be obvious that the organization capacity and the revolutionary consciousness of that worker would be high while her confrontation with the class differences is highly limited. However by looking at all the interviewees (especially Int.4) who are working at “transformed workplaces” as a cleaning worker, one would see that interviewees’ confrontations with socio-spatial inequalities is highly significant and the revolutionary potential is transformed but still remains. This is to say that the spatial configuration of the industrial worker limits the class convergences while through the service employment workers are no longer isolated but they do not share the space.

6.1.2 Invisibility of the worker

Considering the fact that today's public encounters at the public spaces is diminishing, workspaces provide compulsory encounters while the classes are not in convergence. Therefore, understanding this social transformation of the public space and the workspaces has to be taken into account by the urban designers and planners.

A closer look at the interviewees’ workplaces revealed that, it is necessary to remark the constrained convergence of classes at the workspace of a service worker. In consequence of the economic restructuring and the increased economic emphasis on the service employment, work places of different groups and classes are merged through service work. Therefore, compared to an industrial worker, cleaning workers are much more exposed to inequality and invisibility in their workplaces.

The questions related to the workplace and the social sphere they encounter revealed that workspace is characterized by the invisible practices of the female service workers. I observe that both socially and practically constructed norms and practices at the workspace have diversified according to the present collective experiences. The struggle and collectivity at the work place reveal much more visible encounters. However the unique characteristics of different workplaces related to locality (place), and extreme difference between their living and working environment have a significant impact on their perception on class discrimination and socio-spatial

inequalities. Consequently they develop adaptive practices both at home and workplace by learning from the workplace.

Although (especially the ones who are not organized) workers are practically and socially “invisible” at the workplace too, they become much more “visible” at home where becomes the places of resistance for the struggle of survival and adherence through owning and shaping their house. While they experience a slight change in their socially constructed gender roles through the share in income, the workplace and working becomes the place of emancipation and resistance.

Consequently, their experience of the city (at the macro scale) is highly limited to their work related practices. Many of them are in need of a special time and space for themselves which can be evaluated as a desire of being visible in the city. In the case of Int.3 the priorities in the design of workspaces results in increased separations with service workers and the consumers. On the other hand such priorities for increasing the consumptions affect working conditions, which deepens the invisibility of the worker and limits the potential of class encounters within the same space. Therefore, the research poses the question of how urban design would discuss and contribute to produce the “spaces of engagement” within workspaces.

6.2 Sphere of Reproduction

Within the sphere of reproduction, this research uncovers the working class female life with a loaded occupation both at home and work. Considering the social transformations within the “wife-husband” the “woman-work” relations appears as another conclusive argument, which is much more related to urban design.

The existing assumptions about the family structure implies the spatial configuration and urban design practices according to the commuting man who has much more diverse relations with the city and the public space. The reproductive activity of man divides the places of production, reproduction and inbetween commuting and reproductive activities related to the public spaces. However, the changing conditions of working class women in the family and their position both in the labor processes and class formations necessitate to question taken for granted norms and regulations of the space and urban design practices. Everyday life of a female service worker shows that the recent formations of space and design practices do not answer the

question of how to design the convergent spheres of production and reproduction of a female service worker. It has been a long time since the participation of the women in the employment. However, the urban configuration still enforces “the commuting man” to take part in the processes of spatial production. The former conditions of middle class women, who works at home and consumes for the reproductive activities of the household, is now merged significantly through the convergence of the production and reproduction spheres. How urban design would deal with such a transformation to increase the quality of life of a workingwoman, rather than to impede social relations through the spatial configuration and urban design practices remain as a crucial question driven out from the research.

6.3 Commodification vs. the Community Matters

Through the processes of urbanism and urban planning, prioritization of exchange value over use value caused an increasingly commodified urban environment. Within the former socio-spatial configuration, housing was a matter of use value supplying the needs of having a “shelter” in the city. However, through the economic restructuring and new configuration of socio-spatial dynamics, housing became an economical asset not only in the world cities but also in all around the world. In İstanbul, the transformation processes of self-built one-storey *gecekondu*s into apartment blocks shaped this transformation. Social scientists explain this transformation within the dissolving relations of the communities. Nevertheless, the interviews indicated that place is still unique to produce unique characteristics of social relations. Especially, the case of Int.6, Int.1 and Int.7 express the fact that the old migrants (who are born in a migrant family or grew up in İstanbul) have much more ability to take part in the production of space, through which the social networks are still strong.

6.4 Spaces of Adaptation and Transformation

A closer look at the feelings, emotions and desires of the cleaning service workers revealed that living and working in İstanbul has affected their practices in terms of self-adaptations and self-resistance. The transformations in the socio-economic conditions and parallel transformation in the built environment shaped either insurgent or adaptive practices. The interviews indicate that work and work related

practices might be delineated as insurgent in terms of their changing gender positions and struggle with patriarchy. Although seven of the interviewees work because they have to, it is still significant to understand the increased capacity at the workplace in shaping their social conditions. On the other hand interdependency of women with social security and insurance does not limit them to search for a better work conditions.

On the contrary I observed that home related practices are much more adaptive in terms of the ability to transform the space. The interviews with women who are working in the former gecekondu neighborhoods reveal that the ties of the community are still strong although the “urban transformation projects” threaten them. As a result and a precondition of this I see the women’s central spheres shifts towards home or work in order to release themselves from such mechanisms of control.

However such a conceptualization should not sweep the diversities of spatial experiences under the carpet. The interviews reveal that each one delineates unique types of fear, oppression, happiness, solitude, alienage and comfort which shapes their resistive and adaptive abilities.

Besides the questioning of the diversity for cleaning service workers daily experiences, I tried to show to what extend patriarchy, precarious relations related with work and socio-cultural hierarchies which exists within the relationship of the city and certain classes. I tried to frame the general scene of social and economic conditions of the interviewees. However, some of the interviewees are not working at the same places now. Int.7 is dismissed from her job within two weeks after we met, and Int.6 changed her job because of the oppression at the workplace and started to work as a swimming pool service employee while Int.2 is also obliged to change her workplace because of the overpowering supervisors. Apparently the precarious relations and the socio-spatial justices are affecting their way of life. Although these concepts are not centrally discussed through out the thesis initial attempts for further research for evaluating the affect of precarious working to their precarious socio-spatial practices.

Evaluating everyday practices of female service workers in relation with the urban environment by using a participatory method of visual narration is sufficient to

propose a shift in the position of the urbanist. With a view from below, the field study showed that expressions and statements of the interviewees are centered on their workload which limits their view to imagine the alternative ways of living. However their diversities would empower the researchers and designers to seek for the “differential space” in order to question the “unknown” which lies beneath the “known” and “taken for granted norms” of space. I believe the future approaches in urban design should be developed not only through the participatory programs but also with a critical shift in the position of the urbanist.

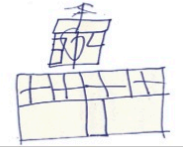
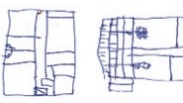


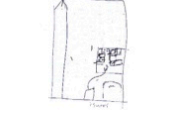

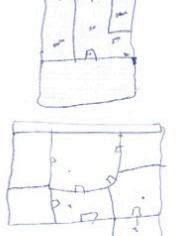

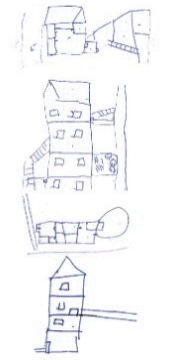


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APPENDIX: Table A.1: List of interviewees

Int. No	Mental Mapping: Home	Mental Mapping: Workplace	Age	Place of Residence	Place of Work	Institution	Route of Commuting Bus No	Hometown/ Reason of Migration	Marital Status	Education	Religion	Status of the Neighborhood	Status of Employer	Type of service work	State of Organization
Int.1			37	Alibeyköy	Maçka - Public University	University	Service	Amasya (Moved after her birth in 70's)	Married	Primary School	Alevi	Former gecekondü (Self Constructed by In-laws)	sub-contractor - contract worker	Full Time General Cleaning/ Preventive Maintenance and office cleaner	un-organized
Int.2			42	Kağıthane	Current: Ayazağa Ex: Taksim	University	University Service	Silvan (Moved for work opportunities in 2003)	Single (Living with her brother's wife and children)	-	Şafi	Former gecekondü (Tenant Relatives)	sub-contractor - contract worker	Full Time General Cleaning/ Preventive Maintenance and office cleaner	un-organized
Int.3			43	Yeniköy	Kuruçeşme / Island	Leisure	22, 22RE, 25E, 40, 42T, or walking	Karadeniz Ereğli (Moved to Istanbul after divorce in 2003)	Single (Living with her Daughter)	High School	Sunni	Former gecekondü (Tenant)	primary employer-personell	Dining room service and cleaning	un-organized
Int.4			40	Nurtepe	Zincirlikuyu (Ex: Kağıthane)	Shopping Mall-Mixed Use	64Ç, 63	Turhal (Moved to Istanbul after her marriage)	Married (1 son)	High School	Alevi	Former gecekondü (Tenant)	sub-contractor - contract worker	Food court cleaning	un-organized
Int.5			33	Çapa	Çapa	Hospital	Walking	Samsun	Divorced (Living with her two sons)	High School (Open Education)	Sunni	Historic Peninsula	sub-contractor - contract worker	Full Time General Cleaning/ Preventive Maintenance and office cleaner	organized (Taş-der)
Int.6			35	PTT Evleri Sarıyer	Sarıyer	University	University Service	Pülümür (Born in Istanbul)	Divorced (Living with her mother, sisters and 2 children)	Primary School	Alevi	Former Gecekondü (Self Constructed by the family)	sub-contractor - contract worker	Full Time General Cleaning/ Preventive Maintenance and office cleaner	organized (university contract workers union)
Int.7			39	Okmeydanı	Currently Unemployed (Ex: Taksim)	Hotel	54Ç, 54 ÖR / Metrobüs & Metro	Tokat- Turhal (Moved to Istanbul after her birth)	Married (with 2 sons)	Primary School	Alevi	Former Gecekondü (Self Constructed by In-laws)	primary employer-personell	House Keeping	un-organized
Int.8			22	Fatih Sultan Mehmet mahallesi	Maçka (Alternately: Gayrettepe)	Residence	58N Fatih Sultan Mehmet Mah -Beşiktaş	Tokat	Married (with a 2 year old son)	Secondary School	Alevi	Former Gecekondü (Self Constructed by In-laws)	primary employer-personell	House Keeping	un-organized

CURRICULUM VITAE

Name Surname: Sungur
Place and Date of Birth: Ceyda
Address: ITÜ Faculty of Architecture, Taşkışla, Istanbul
E-Mail: sungur@itu.edu.tr
B.Sc.: Middle East Technical University,
City and Regional Planning Department, Ankara

Professional Experience and Rewards:

Research Assistant at Istanbul Technical University, Istanbul, January 2012

Production Assistant / Design Manager at C.P.M (Creative. Production Management), Istanbul, July 2010- April 2011

Best Research Project Award in Bauhaus Kolleg Ciam Urbanism- Univercities 2010, “boundaries of UNAM, Mexico City” with Gözde Şarlak

3rd Winner Project in the Competition of the “(Lavuar) Industrial Heritage Urban Design Competition for Zonguldak”, 2010, with Meltem Şentürk, Eser Köken, Esra Alkim Karaağaç

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